

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ASHTADHYAY

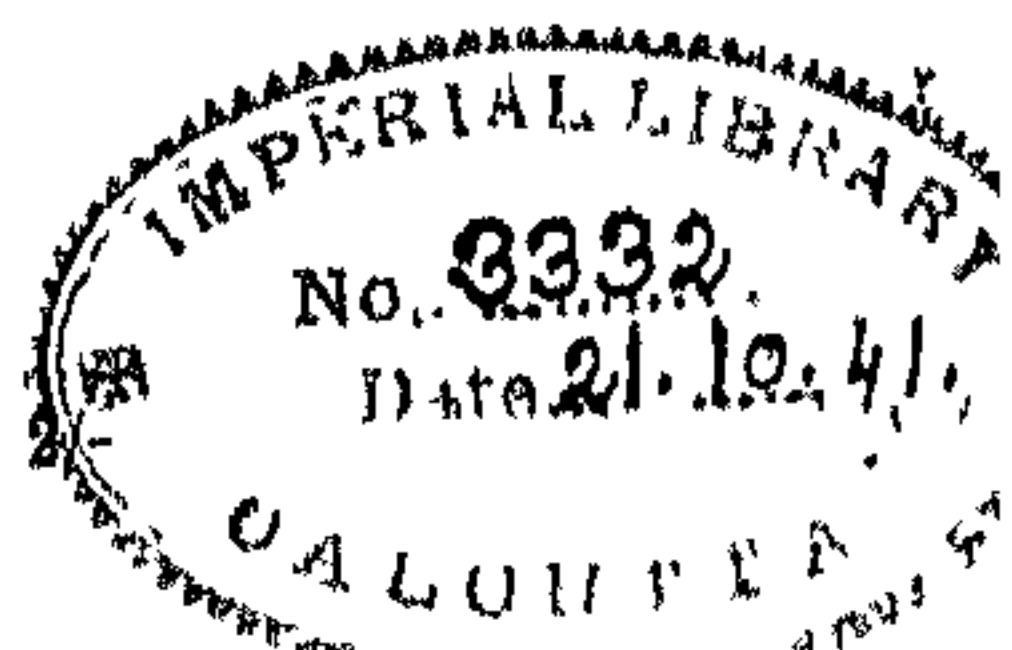
By

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To
My Father

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The Author

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INTRODUCTION

The reader will see that throughout my essay on the Structure of the Aṣṭādhyāyī I have mainly relied on the Kāś'ikā and the Nyāsa a commentary on the former. The importance of the Kāś'ikā cannot be over-rated. It is the only exhaustive lucid, scientific, authoritative and ancient commentary on the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The Kāś'ikā is generally supposed to have been written in the seventh century A. D. But I think that the Kāś'ikā cannot have been written later than the second century of the Christian era.

I

To determine the date of the Kāś'ikā, scholars have up till now relied mainly upon Itsing's account. But, in this connection, it is to be noted that

1. Itsing speaks of a 'Vṛttisūtra'. This Vṛttisūtra has been turned by some scholars into 'Sūtravṛtti', which has been conjecturally identified with the Kāś'ikā.

2. Itsing says that the Vṛttisūtra teaches about the laws of the universe. This description does not at all apply to the Kāś'ikā.

3. Itsing mentions one Jayāditya as the author of the Vṛttisūtra. Now the Kāś'ikā is the work of two joint authors Vāmana and Jayāditya. Why is Itsing silent about Vāmana, if he meant the Kāś'ikā by the word 'Vṛttisūtra'?

4. Itsing says that Patanjali wrote a commentary on the Vṛttisūtra. It is evident that the Vṛttisūtra commented upon by Patanjali can by no stretch of imagination be identified with the Kāś'ikā. It is interesting to note that Patanjali

speaks of a 'Vṛttisūtra' in his Bhasya on वार्तिक 24 (लुप्ताख्यातेषु च) on S. II. i. 1 (समर्थः पदविधिः). Patanjali says: न भ्रूमा दृत्ति-सूत्रवचनप्रामाण्यादिति । किं तर्हि वार्तिकवचनप्रामाण्यादिति ।*

Thus we may say with D. Belvalkar, that Itting's account may (does) not after all refer to the Kāś'ikā.

II

THE JAINENDRA VYĀKARAṆA AND THE KĀS'IKĀ

Dr K. B. Pathak says (Ind. Antiquary 43. p. 210) that the authors of the Kāś' ikā knew the Jainendra Sūtra 'हस्तादेयेऽनुस्तेये चेः' II. iii, 36. He has based his conclusion on the Kāś'ikā on P. III iii. 40.

हस्तादाने चरस्तेये ।

Kāś' ikā :— हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनीतेर्धातोः घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति । न चेत्स्तेयं चौर्यं भवति उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

It is contended that the authors of the Kāś' ikā refer to the Jainendrasūtra 'हस्तादेयेऽनुदि अस्तेये चेः' in the sentence 'उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः.' But it is also possible that the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa himself based his sūtra on the sentence of the Kāś' ikā—उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

Let us turn to the Kāś'ikā on P. V. iii. 101 & 102.

वस्तेर्दङ् ॥ 101

Kāś'ika:— इवेत्यनुवर्तते..... वस्तिशब्दादिवार्थे दङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । वस्तिरिव वास्तेयः वास्तेयी ।

शिलाया दः ॥ 102.

Kāś'ikā :— शिलाशब्दादिवार्थे दः प्रत्ययो भवति । शिलेव शिलेयं दधि । केचिदत्र दङ्मपीच्छन्ति । तदर्थं योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । शिलाया दङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । शैलेयम् । ततो दः । शिलेयम् ।

* Nirṇaya Saṅgraha Edition (1919) Vol. II. p. 345.

The authors of the Kāś'ikā propose to break S. 102, into two sūtras, शिलायाः and दः, to provide for the form शैलेयम्, because केचिदत्र दम्भमपीच्छन्ति. Thus the authors of the Kāś'ikā propose to read the present sūtras वस्तेर्दम् and शिलाया दः as follows :—

- 1 वस्तेर्दम् ।
2. शिलायाः [दम्] ।
3. दः [शिलायः]

Now to whom does the Kāś'ikā refer with the word केचित्, in “केचिदत्र दम्भमपीच्छन्ति” ? Dr K B. Pathak thinks that the reference is to the following sūtras of Jainendra :—

वस्तेर्दम् ॥ IV. 1. 207

शिलायाः ॥ 208

द च 209

But these Jainendra sūtras seem to have been framed by taking the hint given by the Kāś'ikā : तदर्थं योगविभागः कर्तव्यः । शिलायाः । दम् प्रत्ययो भवति । शैलेयम् । ततो दः । शैलेयम् ॥

Then to whom does the Kāś'ikā refer in the sentence “केचिदत्र दम्भमपीच्छन्ति” ? We think the reference is to the Cāndras.

वस्तेर्दम् ॥ Cāndra Sūtra IV. iii. 79.

शिलाया दश्च । 80.

Candra Vṛtti: — शिलाया इवार्थे वर्तमानाया दो भवति दम् च । शैलेयं दधि शैलेयम् ॥

It is well known that the authors of the Kāś'ikā have extensively drawn upon the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa.*

III

What is the name of the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa ? What is the name of the author of the Pāṇiniya ?

* “.....die Kasika die ja ihrerseits dieses Nouo aus Candia meist aufgenommen hat, ohne die Quelle zu nennen.....”

Lieblöh, Vorwort to Candra Vyakarana

Pāṇinī; of the Āpist'ala Vyākaraṇa? Āpist'ali, of that of the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa? Candra. So also, what is the name of the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa? Jinendra. जिनेन्द्रेण प्रोक्तं जैनेन्द्रम् ।. Now the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa is generally known as Devanandin. Thus the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa was known by two names—Jinendra and Devanandin.

IV

The Nyāsa, the earliest extant commentary on the Kāś'ikā is by Jinendra Buddhi.

Now let us turn to the Śiavanabelgola Inscription No. 64 (1163 A. D.). There we read:—

यो देवनान्दिप्रथमाभिधानो बुद्ध्या महत्या स जिनेन्द्रबुद्धिः ।

श्रीपूज्यपादोऽजनि देवताभिर्यत्पूजिनं पादयुगं यदीयम् ॥

So Devanandin Jinendrabuddhi and Pūjyapāda are three names for one and the same person.

Now Ponna, a great Kannada poet who wrote his ಪುರಾಣ (Śāntipurāṇa) in 933 A. D., speaks of the 'revered Nyāsakāra' as a very lucid commentator* and invokes the blessings of Pūjyapāda in the beginning of his Śāntipurāṇa.† Vṛttavilāsa (1160 A. D.) says that the great ascetic Pūjyapāda “ಭರದಿಂ ಜೈನೇಂದ್ರಮಂ ಭಾಸುರ ಮೆನಲೊರೆದಂ ಪಾಣಿನೀಯಕ್ಕೆ ಟೀಕಂ ! ಬರೆದಂ” “wrote the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa and a commentary on the

* ಈ ನುಡಿ ನಿನಗಲ್ಲದೆ ದಿವಿ

ಜಾನೀಕೆಕ್ಕ ಮರದವರ ವಚನಂ ಜಡಸಂ

ಸ್ಥಾನ ಮವಿಜ್ಞೇಯ ಮದ

ಕೈರ್ನಾನುಂ ನ್ಯಾಸ ಕಾರರಂ ತರ ವೇಱ್ಕುಂ ।

Śāntipurana x. 180

† Śāntipurana I 29

Pāṇinīya". Thus it is evident that Devanandin alias Jinendra-buddhi alias Pūjyapāda was the author of the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa and the Nyāsa.

In the first edition of the first volume of the Karnataka Kavicharite Mahāmahopādhyāya R. Narasimhaacharya placed Pūjyapāda in about 470 A. D. In the revised edition (1924) of the book he places Pūjyapāda in about 600 A. D. But in his letter to me dated 21-12-1933 he says that Pūjyapāda is to be placed somewhere about 450 A. D. And this date seems to be the correct one because, Bhaṭṭa in his Harṣacarita, written in the reign of Harṣavardhana (606-648) refers to the Nyāsa in the following passage:—

तच्छ्रुत्वा बाणस्य चत्वारः पितृव्यपुत्रा आतर प्रसन्नवृत्तयो गृहीत.
वाक्याः कृतगुरुपदन्यासा न्यायवादिनः सुकृतसंग्रहाभ्यासगुरवो लब्धसाधुशब्दा
लोक इव व्याकरणेऽपि..... ।

If the author of the Nyāsa lived about 450 A. D. the Kāśīkī which was an old work at the time of the author of the Nyāsa,* must go back to somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era.

The following is the relevant portion of the text of Mahāmahopādhyāya R. Narasimhaacharya's kind letter to me.

PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSANA
KARNATAKA PRACHYA VIDYA VAINIYA
Rao Bahadur
R. NARASIMHACHARYA M.A. M.R.A.S.

MALLESWARAM .
BANGALORE
21-12-1933

೧. ಕವಿಚರಿತೆಯ ೧ನೆಯ ಭಾಗದ ಪ್ರಥಮ ಮುದ್ರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂಜ್ಯಪಾದನು ಸು
ಳ೭೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ನಾನು ಬರೆದಿರುವುದು ನಿಜ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಆಧಾರ
ವು ಗಂಗರಾಜನಾದ ದರ್ವಿ ನೀತನಿಗೆ (೪೭೮-೫೧೩) ಈತನು ಗುರುವಾಗಿರ್ದನೆಂಬ ರೈಸರ

* See Shrish Chandra Chakravarti's Introduction to his edition of the Nyāsa, p 21.

ಹೇಳಿಕೆ. ಈಚೆಗೆ ರೈಸರ ಹೇಳಿಕೆ ನಿರಾಧಾರವಾದುದೆಂದೂ ಪೂಜ್ಯಪಾದನಿಗೂ ದುರ್ವಿನೀತನಿಗೂ ಯಾವವಿಧವಾದ ಸಂಬಂಧವೂ ಇಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ನಾನು ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದೇನೆ. Indian Antiquary for 1913 P 201 ನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ ಈತನ ಶಿಷ್ಯನಾದ ವಜ್ರನಂದಿಯ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಪ್ರಮಾಣವು ನಂಬಲರ್ಹವಾದುದೋ ಅಲ್ಲವೋ ಎಂಬ ಸಂದೇಹವುಂಟಾಯ್ತು. ಅದುದರಿಂದ ೨ನೆಯ ಮುದ್ರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿದೆನು. ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ ಅಲೋಚನೆಮಾಡಿದುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂಜ್ಯಪಾದನ ಕಾಲವು ೪೫೦ ಆಗಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. Id in Antiquary 43 P 211 ನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾಠಕರು ಇಂಥ ಕಾಲನಿರ್ಣಯಕ್ಕೆ ಎರಡು ಕಾರಣಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ವಜ್ರನಂದಿಯಕಾಲವು ನಿಜವಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬಹುದು.

೨. ಜೈನೇಂದ್ರ ವ್ಯಾಕರಣದ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳು ಕಾಶಿಕಾವೃತ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉದಾಹೃತವಾಗಿವೆ ಎಂಬ ನನ್ನ ಹೇಳಿಕೆಗೆ ಪಾಠಕರೇ ಆಧಾರ. ಅವರು Indian Antiquary 43 P. 210ರಲ್ಲಿ “ಹಸ್ತದೇಯೇನುದ್ಯುತೇಯೇ ಚೇ” ಎಂಬ ಜೈನೇಂದ್ರ ಸೂತ್ರವು (II, 336) ಕಾಶಿಕಾವೃತ್ತಿಕಾರರಿಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ ; ಅಲ್ಲದೆ “ವಸ್ತೇರ್ಥಜ್” (IV 1 207) ಶಿಲಾಯಾ (IV, 1 208), ಥ ಚ (IV 1, 209) ಎಂಬ ಜೈನೇಂದ್ರದ ಮೂರು ಸೂತ್ರಗಳೂ ಕಾಶಿಕಾವೃತ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ “ಕೇಶಿದತ್ತಥಾ ನುಹೀಚ್ಛಂತಿ” ಎಂದಾರಂಭಿಸುವ ವಾಕ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೂದಿತವಾಗಿವೆ ಎಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇದರ ವಿವರವನ್ನು Indian Antiquaryಯಲ್ಲಿ ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು.

ಇಂತೀ ವಿಜ್ಞಾಪನೆ

Sd./ ರಾ. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯ

To

I S PAWATE Esq B A I L B

PLEADER HUBLI.

PART I

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम्

1

2

The Structure of the Astadhyayi.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY

Panini's Astadhyayi or Astika is the most wonderful grammatical work in the literature of the world. Max Muller said that the Astika did for the development of the Indian intellect what the Euclidean Geometry did for the European. And this is a statement which will be readily admitted by any one who has made even a cursory study of the Paninian system. The system of the Astadhyayi has been so developed enlarged and elaborated that it can be mastered, as Buhler said only by a diligent study continued for years. Such is the opinion of Indian scholars also. It is said
द्राक्षवर्षैर्व्याकरणमधीयते.

The Paninian system of grammar together with the Vartikas and Itis, is so very exhaustive that it provides almost for every form of every word used in the classical Sanskrit. Such is its thoroughness that some European scholars have come to the length of saying that the Astika is a dictionary. It is a language which has never been called a dead language, rather a classic language as much as its natural development was fixed at a certain stage. For through the grammar of Panini in about the 4th century B. C. a fixed standard was created, which remained a criterion for all future times'.

With all due deference to the learned doctor I beg to differ from him here. At no stage of its development was

Sanskrit lettered by the grammar of Panini. We read this interesting piece of dialogue in the Mahabhasya

कश्चिद् वैयाकरण आह - कोऽस्य रसस्य प्रमेतेति सूत्रा आह, अहं
मायुष्मन्स्य प्रजितेति वैयाकरण आह अपश्च इति सूत्र आह -
प्राप्तिज्ञो देवानां प्रियः न त्विष्टिज्ञः इष्यत एतद् रूपम् इति 1 iv 66,

प्रक्षीप प्राप्तिज्ञ इति । २ । मेव प्राप्ति भवान् जानाति न नान्ता
यणाम् इष्टिर्मे इत्यर्था ।

The words प्राप्तिज्ञो देवानां प्रियः न त्विष्टिज्ञः इष्यत एतद् रूपम् are to be noted. From them it is clear that so long as the Sanskrit language was living the grammar was kept up to date by means of additions and changes which were made wherever necessary by successive Acharyas. It is a but natural that it is the grammar that is to follow language, and not language that is to follow grammar. This very important fact which is apt to be lost sight of, was always kept clearly before their mind's eye by the great grammarians up to the times of Patanjali and Bhartrhari. In the Paspasa a question is asked कथं पुनरिदं भगवत पाणिनेराचार्यस्य लक्षणं प्रवृत्तम् ? and is answered in the words of two Vaittikas: सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे लोक्तोर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दप्रयोगे शास्त्रेण धर्मनियमः. This, freely paraphrased means that the words and their senses are settled by the usage of the people and what the grammar does is simply to show the path to merit by the use of right words.

In this connection there is a very interesting passage in the Bhasya which is worth quoting in full. Patanjali commenting on पृषादरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् 6.3.109 says:-

अथ किमिदमुपदिष्टानीति उच्चारितानि कुत एतत् । दिशिह्वारण
मिय उच्चार्य हि तर्जनात् उपदिष्टा इयं वर्णा इति वे. पुनरुपदिष्टा ।

शिष्ट के पुत्र शिष्टा वैयाकरणा. कुन एतत् सासर्वना इति शिष्टा
वैयाकरणाश्च शास्त्रज्ञा यदि तर्हि शास्त्र पूर्विका शिष्टि शिष्टि पूर्वकं च शास्त्रम्
तदितरेतराश्रयं नास्ति इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते एवं तर्हि
निवासतश्चाचारः स आचार आसीवर्त एव क पुनरार्यावर्त. प्रागादर्शात्
प्रत्यक्क लकवनात् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्त मुत्तरेण पारियात्रम् एतस्मिन्नार्या
वर्त निवासं ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीध्वान्या अलोलुपाः अशृग्रमाणकारणा निविद
न्तरेण कस्याश्चिद विद्याया पारंगता तन्ममवन्त. शिष्टा यदितर्हि शिष्टा
य देव प्रमाणं विदग्ध गायया विदग्ध शिष्टपरिज्ञानार्था अष्टा यात्री कथ पुन
रष्टान्याय्या शिष्टा शयया विज्ञातुम् अष्टाध्यायीमधीयानोन्य पश्यत्यनधीया
नम् येन विहिता, शब्दास्ताम् प्रयुजानं नाश्रयति नूनमस्य देवानुग्रह
रक्भायो वा योयं न चाष्टाध्यायीमधीते ये चास्या विहितां. शब्दास्ताश्च
प्रयुक्ते नूनमथमन्यापि जानाति इति

In this passage, the function and the extent of the
authority of a grammar are accurately described. Its function is
to study and fix the usage of the language among the Sistas
and to analyse and record that the usage is a systematic
way. A rule of grammar is authoritative only in so far as it
conforms to the usage of language among the Sistas. When
the usage among the Sistas and a rule of grammar come into
conflict, it is the rule of grammar that is to yield. Bhatihari
says that what the grammar teaches is अविद्या and that we
have to reach the vidyā through the avidyā. Says he --

शास्त्रेषु प्रक्रियाभेदैरविद्यैवोपवर्ण्यते

अनागमविकल्पा तु स्वयं विद्योपवर्तते ॥ 235

उपाया शिक्षमाणानां बालानामपलापना

असत्ये धर्मे नि स्थित्वा ततः सत्यं गमीहते । 240

We think that a system of grammar the students of which have such ideas about its function and extent of authority, cannot be accused of having checked the natural growth of the language. We should rather say that the Paninian system allowed full growth to the language while it was living and checked its deterioration, when Sanskrit was being slowly thrown into the background by Pali and other vernaculars at the rise of Buddhism.

This system of Panini consists of three interdependent works, viz, the Dhatupatha, the Ganapatha, and Sūtrapatha. And we shall consider them in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II. DHATUPATHA.

What it is - The Dhatupatha is a list of dhatus or roots. The various schools of Sanskrit grammar seem to have had their own separate Dhatupaths. The students of the grammar of Apṛi, one of the predecessors of Jaimini, the Apṛis had their own Dhatupatha, and Patanjali tells us according to this Dhatupatha the root अण् was simply ण्, the अङ् आ being in our list like अस्ति and 'असीत्' with simple augment.

As regards the Pāṇinian Dhatupatha we must note at the outset that originally the meanings of roots were not given in Dhatupatha but were added later by Jaimini and others. Originally there was संहितापाठ of roots and they were not separated from each other.

It seems that the Pāṇinians themselves had their Dhatupatha in more than one versions. The existing Dhatupatha begins with the root भू but Patanjali seems to speak of another version also in which the अदादिs began with the root

समवप्रविश्य स्थः । I iii. 22

वा । आङ् स्थः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यं । वा ।

भाष्यं — आङ्. स्थः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यं अस्ति मकारमातिष्ठने । आगं भू गुणवृद्धी आतिष्ठने । णिकारो गुणवृद्धी अतिष्ठने । This passage has been incorporated into the Kāśika, & the Nyāsa commenting thereon say — मकारमभि भातुमाणिश्लिखितानां प्रतिज्ञाने । P. 228. Also Padamanjari.

आपिशाला असूयुधीती ३ धातु मकारमात्रं प्रतिज्ञानते ।

(Quoted in Ns. Ed. Mh. Bh. Vol. II. P. 162)

§ Vide Bhashya on वा परिमाण ग्रहणेच । on S 1. iii. 1. and

Kaiyata and Nagesha thereon

that is in which the present अदिशब्द we have, and in which the वादिशब्द and not the अदिशब्द were placed at the beginning of the Dhātupāṭha. And this will not seem surprising when we remember that the Pāṇinians were a vast school and were divided among themselves according, as they were easterners or westerners (cf. Kāśikā VI ii, 104). But at present we have only one version of the Pāṇinian Dhātupāṭha and the other seems to have been irrecoverably lost. From Kāśikāśāstrin to Bhaṭṭa all the commentators comment on one and the same version of the Dhātupāṭha and that version is the version we have.

Its relation to the Aṣṭadhyāyī.

Now let us turn to the Aṣṭadhyāyī and consider its relation to the Dhātupāṭha.

When reading the Siddhanta Kaumudī we are apt to be misled by the place and treatment accorded to the Dhātupāṭha in it, into thinking that the Dhātupāṭha is merely an appendix to the Aṣṭadhyāyī. So, Apte in his Dictionary says that the Dhātupāṭha is supposed to be the work of Pāṇini himself, "*as supplementary to his sūtras.*"

† भूवाद्यो धातवः I iii 1

अथम् - प्रत्येकं नादिशब्दः परिरामायते भूवाद्य इति वाद्य इति न तद्यदा तावत् क्रियावचनं धातुरित्येष पक्षः तदा भू इत्यत्र य आदिशब्दः स व्यवस्थायाम् वर्तते। वा इत्यत्र य आदिशब्दः स प्रकारे भू इत्येवमाद्यः वा इत्येव प्रकारा इति। [Refers to the Dh. P. we have] यदा तु भववचनं धातुः इत्येष पक्षः तदा वेत्यत्र य आदिशब्दः स व्यवस्थायाम् वर्तते। भू इत्यत्र य आदिशब्दः स प्रकारे वेत्येवमाद्यो भू इत्येव प्रकारा इति। [Refers to the lost version of the Dh. P.]

We submit this is a wrong view. No doubt the Astadhyayi and the Dhatupatha are interlaced but we cannot say as speaking call one the supplement of the other. It is obvious that the Astadhyayi is not a supplement or appendix to the Dhatupatha but what is not so obvious is that the Dhatupatha is not also merely an appendix to the Astadhyayi. If the Dhatupatha were there merely to serve as an appendix to the Astadhyayi, it would have been a much shorter work than it is at present because it would then have contained only those roots which are absolutely necessary for the purposes of the Astadhyayi; just as the Ganapatha contains not all the pratisadikas in the Sanskrit language but only those which have been for some purpose or other referred to by the Astadhyayi. The Dhatupatha contains much matter not strictly necessary for the purposes of the Astadhyayi is evident from the following extract from the Bhasya on I iii 1.

1. भाष्यं - यदि तर्हि लक्षणं 'कथंते नन्दानां पाठः कर्तव्यः कर्तव्यश्च । किं प्रयोजनम् ।

वा भूवादिपाठः प्रातिपदिकाणवयत्यादिवृत्त्यर्थः । वा । भूवादिपाठः कर्तव्यः । किं प्रयोजनं प्रातिपदिकाणवयत्यादिनिवृत्त्यर्थः । प्रातिपदिकनिवृत्त्यर्थः । आणवयत्यादिनिवृत्त्यर्थश्च केषुनराणवयत्यादयः आणवयति वष्टति बद्धयतीत्यादयः वा । स्वरानुबन्धज्ञापनाय च

स्वरानुबन्धज्ञापनाय च पाठः कर्तव्यः स्वरानुबन्धाश्च ज्ञायमानाः । नह्यन्तरेण पाठे स्वरानुबन्धा वा शक्या विज्ञातुम्

येत्येते न्याय्यधिकरणा उदात्ता अननुबन्धकाः पठ्यन्ते तेषां पाठः शक्यः अकर्तुम् ।

एतेषामप्यवश्यं आणवयत्यादि निवृत्त्यर्थः पाठः कर्तव्यः नकर्तव्यः ।

वा । क्षिप्रयोगाद्वाणवयत्यादिनिवृत्तिरिति वा । क्षिप्रयोगान्वाणवयत्यादि

निवृत्तिर्भवति रा चावश्यं शिष्टप्रयोग उपारय । येष पठयन्ते तेषासाप
विषयोऽनिवृत्त्यर्थं लाके हि कण्यर्क कनि प्रयुजते दृश्यं च दिश

Thus the Dha P is not strictly speaking an appendix to the Astadhyay, as it contains much matter not necessary for the purposes of the Astadhyay. Kuyala tells us that it was meant to be an exhaustive list of all the roots in the Sanskrit language.

The author of the Dhatupāṭha.

Who is the author of the Dhatupāṭha? Most of us would readily answer "Panini, the author of the Astadhyaya". Such is the common belief that has been current for some centuries. The Bhavisyapurana says

हस्तुवत्वातर्द्धे रद्र पाणिनि. स्वगृहं यया

सूत्रपाठं धातुपाठं गणपाठं तथैव च ।

लिंगसूत्रं तथा कृत्वा परस्मै निर्वानम सर्वान् ।

The Siksā speaks of Panini as the author of the whole of the Vyākaraṇa "कृत्स्नं व्याकरणम्" and this whole must evidently include the Dhatupāṭha. At the end of the existing Dh. P., we find the colophon इति श्रीपाणिनिमुनिप्रणीतो धातुपाठः समाप्तः. Goldstucker says (p. 182) that Panini is the author of the groundwork of the existing Dhatupāṭha. The Dh. P. says Keth. Ind. o. Sanskrit L. 1910 (p. 1) "taken on as a basis" as a source to Panini. And Lieberman in 1930 describes the Kāśīrangiri on the title page of his edition of that work as "Kāśīrangiri's Kommentar zu Paninis Dhatupāṭha."

We submit this belief is not free from doubt.

Cf. भाष्यम्, पाठेन धातुसंज्ञेत्येदुपपन्नम् भवति ।

परीयः— पाठेनेति । ये धातुपाठे पठितास्तेषामेव धातुराज्ञा तेषां पाठो लोपलक्षणार्थोऽपि तु इत्युत्तापभिप्रायनाथे । SS. T. iii. 1.

The word *dhatu* itself is, we are told by the *Kasika*, a term borrowed by Panini from his predecessors, it was they who gave the name of *dhatu* to the क्रियावचन or verbs; and Panini having borrowed the word from his predecessors uses it in the sense in which it was used by them. §

The word *dhatu* is derived from the root धातु, by adding the Unadi termination त् (1.72) Yaska says - धातुर्दधाते. So the etymological sense of the word is "that which sustains" that which underlies'. Anara describes a *dhatu* as शब्दयोनि or source of words. Now this description of Anara and the etymological meaning of the word *dhatu*, show that the battle between the Naiрукtas and the वैयकरणन चैके, referred to by Yaska in the famous passage of his Nirukta, had been decisively won by Sakatayana and the Naiрукtas and already Acharyas before Panini seem to have taken the view that the नामानि were अख्यातजानि and so dubbed the क्रियावचन or verbs as *dhatu*s.

Before coming to such a momentous conclusion they must have studied the nature of verbs or *akhyaats* thoroughly, by collecting them steadily and following each root into all its derivatives to be found in the Sanskrit language. For this purpose they must have collected all the available roots in one place. We have seen above that the Dhatupatha is not a mere appendix to the Astd. that it contains much matter that is useless for the purposes of the Astd., and that it was meant to be an exhaustive list of all the roots in the

§ धातुशब्दः पूर्वोच्चार्य संज्ञा ते च क्रियावचनानां संज्ञां कृतवन्तः। तद्विहापि पूर्वोच्चार्यसंज्ञाश्रयणात् क्रियावाचिनामेव भूषाधीनां धातुसंज्ञा विधीयते । *Kasika*. I. iii. 1.

Sanskrit language. May we suggest that this is due to the fact that the collection of all the क्रियावचनः, in one book, that is the composition of the Dh. P. was the work of those grammarians who, with Sakatayana, held that all the nouns were derived from verbs, and that the verbs were the primal elements or *dhatus* or sustainers of the whole structure of language? Does it not seem highly probable that the Dhatupatha was meant to serve the purposes not only of the student of grammar, but also those of the student of words on the lines laid down in the Nirukta? If the Dhatupatha is to serve such a double purpose, it is evident that it should contain every root in the language, whether regular or irregular, whether strictly necessary for the purposes of a student of grammar or no. So we think that the Dhatupatha is the work of Nirukta-Vaiyakanas of the type of the great Sakatayana.

Now let us see whether Panini was a grammarian of the type of Sakatayana. If he was of that type then it is possible that the Dhatupatha is his work. But if it is found that Panini held with Gargya, and the वैयाकरणानां चैके referred to by Yaska in his Nirukta, that not all the nouns are derived from verbal roots, then much of the existing Dhatupatha would become worse than useless for him, and we think he should not be fathered to a work, which was the child of an opposite school of thought.

There is very strong evidence to show that Panini, with Gargya, held the *avyutpatti* theory of nouns. Patanjali commenting on the Vartika -नाम च धातुजग्राह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च लोकम् on S.3.3.1. उणादयो बहुलम्, says वैयाकरणानां च शकटाग्रज आह धातुजं नामेति. It is significant that Panini also is not mentioned as holding that view. And under 7.1.2 (अशनेति-

both Kātyāyana and Patanjali tell us, that Panini held that the nouns derived by means of the Unadi affixes were really अव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि † So Panini being of the अव्युत्पत्ति school, was not one of the Nishukta-Vaiyakaranas and so we think he cannot be regarded as the author of the Dh. P.

There is another circumstance also that points to the conclusion that Panini, the author of the Astadhyayi, is not the author of the Dh. P. The words आत्मनेभाष & परस्मैभाष occur in the Dh. P. almost exclusively as synonyms of the words आत्मनेपद & परस्मैपद, which are exclusively used by the Astadhyayi. The Tattvabodhini commenting on 6. 3. 7 tells us that the word *Atmanebhasa* is unknown to the Astad., and occurs only in the Dhatupatha. Now, whence did the word *Atmanebhasa* come? The answer is provided by the Balam. She says.— आत्मनेभाषेति पूर्वाचार्यकृतं आत्मनेपदस्य संज्ञान्तरं इदं धातुपाठे प्रसिद्धम्. The same remarks evidently apply to the word *Parasmaibhasa* also. These पूर्वाचार्यसंज्ञाs, as pointed out above, occur almost exclusively in the Dhatupatha; the संज्ञाs *Parasmaipada* and *Atmanepada* not at all occurring in the *Bhavadigana*, which forms the first half of the Dh. P. and occurring only twenty-two times in the latter half. Does not this circumstance also point to the conclusion that the Dhatupatha is not the work of Panini, but of *purvacharyas*, his predecessors?

† वा । प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य सिद्धम् । वा ।

भाष्यम्:— प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः पाणिनेराचार्यस्य सिद्धम् ।

उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि ।

‡ यद्यपीयमाख्याद्याध्यायां नास्ति तथापि धातुपाठे अस्ति इति भावः ।

This conclusion is strengthened when we consider the way in which the Astd. refers to the Dhatupatha. The first distinct reference to the Dhatupatha as a whole occurs in I in 1&2, भूवादयो धातवः & उपदेशजनुनासिक इत्. The word *upadesa* is to be noted. The Astd. always refers to the Dh. P. as a whole with the word *upadesa*. As to the exact meaning of the word there has raised a controversy between the प्राचीनः & the नव्यः. The Kasika says उपदिश्यते अनेनेति उपदेशः शास्त्रवाक्यानि सूत्र-पाठः. खिलपाठश्च. Nyasa — उपदेश इति करणे घञ् । खिलपाठो धातुपाठः. And according to the प्राचीन कारिका referred to in the Balamano-rama, by the word *upadesa* are meant —

धातुसूत्रगणोणादिवाक्यलिङ्गानुशासनम् । आगमप्रत्ययादेशाः

Upadesa, according to the S.K. is आद्योच्चारणम्.* This definition of उपदेश given by the S.K. seems to have been based upon the dictum of Kariyata येषां तु स्वरूपज्ञानाय अपूर्व-सुच्चरणं तेषामेव उपदेशव्यवहारः . VI. i. 45. आदेच उपदेशेति.

Leaving alone the *prachinas* and the *arvacinas* to fight amongst themselves, let us turn from their wordy battle to the Astd. itself, and see what the Astd. refers to with the word *upadesa*. The word *upadesa* occurs nine times in the Astd. and let us consider all those nine cases.

1 उपदेशजनुनासिक इत् I. iii. 2.

Here the word *upadesa*, includes the Dhatupatha.

2 आदेच उपदेशेति । VI. i. 45

The word *upadesa* in this case, refers only to the Dhatupatha.

* cf. Balam. उपशब्दआद्यर्थकः दिशिर्वाचनक्रियायाम् । भावे घञ् ।

3 तस्यनुदात्तोऽनुपदेशाद्यर्थे तु कर्मणुद तमहन्विडो। VI i. 186.

The word उपदेश refers only to the Dhatupatha.

4 अनुदात्तोपदेश VI. iv. 37

Upadesa refers only to the Dhatupatha

5 यस्मिन्सीयुतासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेशे— VI. iv. 62.

Upadesa refers only to the Dhatupatha

6 एकाच उपदेशेनुदात्तात्। VII. ii. 10.

Upadesa refers only to the Dhatupatha.

7 उपदेशेत्वतः। VII. ii. 62.

Upadesa refers only to the Dhatupatha

8 नोदात्तोपदेशस्य VII. iii. 34.

Upadesa refers only to the Dhatupatha

9 शेषे विभाषाकखादावष्टान्त उपदेशे। VIII. iv. 18.

Upadesa refers only to the Dhatupatha.

Thus, we see, by the word *Upadesa* in all the nine instances, the Astd. always refers to the Dhatupatha; and in eight cases out of the nine, *Upadesa* means only the Dhatupatha. So whatever else may or may not be *Upadesa*, the Dh. P. is pre-eminently *Upadesa*.

This use of the word *Upadesa* as meaning the Dh. P. is very significant. It shows that the author of the Astd. had the Dhatupatha handed down to him as *Upadesa* from his Acharyas. *Upadesa* always involves a Guru or preceptor, a Sisya or pupil, and some important or sacred knowledge or text, which is imparted by the Guru to the Sisya. (Vide. art. on *upadesa* in the Sabdakalpadruma.) Thus the use of the word *Upadesa* in the Astd. in reference to the Dh. P. shows that the author of the Astd. was not the author of the Dh. P.

and that the author of the Astd. got the Dh. P. handed down to him as *Upradāsa* from a series of earlier *Ācāryas*.

We have seen above that Patanjali speaks of two versions of the Paninian Dhatupatha. It is probable that Panini received both the versions from his *Ācāryas*. It is perhaps due to some partiality shown by Panini and Katyayana and Patanjali for the version beginning with the root *भू*, that it only has come down to us. We shall later on show that Panini received from his predecessors the *सर्वादिगण* in two versions.

That there were two versions of the Dh. P. is supported by the fact that some references to particular *गण*s by some sutras in the *अष्टाध्यायी* are not found in the present Dh. P. For instance, S. *षिन्दिदादिभ्योङ्* (III. 1. 104) refers to the *मिदादिगण*. But there is no *मिदादिगण* in the present version of the Dh. P. The *Kasika* says: (*प्रातिपदिक*) गणपठितेषु मिदादिषु निष्कृष्य प्रकृतयो गृह्यन्ते. It is rather strange that the word *षित्* should refer to the Dh. P. and the next word *मिदादि* to the *प्रातिपदिकपाठ* or the *गणपाठ*. If the reference is to the *गणपाठ*, the *मिदादिभ्यः* portion of the sutra is useless, because the words are mentioned in the *गणपाठ* along with the *प्रत्यय*, i. e. in their *साधित* form. We think that the reference is to the *मिदादिगण* which was to be found in the lost version of the Dhatupatha. Similar remarks apply to S. III. 1. 134.

In the Astd. itself there are two kinds of sutras, which support this contention of ours that the author of the Astd. is not the author of the Dhatupatha. First, sutras that are supplementary to the Dh. P. and, secondly, sutras that go against the Dh. P. and contradict what has been taught in the

Dhatupatha. The first of those two kinds may again be divided into two classes.—

(a) Sūtras that enjoin the कार्य of a particular इत् or indicative letter, though that root has not that particular इत् or indicative letter attached to it in the Dhatupatha.

and

(b) Sutras, which in effect ascribe a class or gana to a root, in addition to the one in which it occurs in the Dh. P.

(1 a.) For example let us take the sutras III. 1. 57&58,

हास्ति वा 57.

Kasika : इरितो वातो. परस्म्य ज्लेरडादेशं वा भयति । भिदिर
अभिदत् अभैत्सीत् छिदिर अछिछदत् अच्छैत्सीत् । परस्मैपदेष्वित्येव,
अभित्त अन्धित्त ।

जलम्भुसृष्टम्लचमुत्रालुत्तुल्लुत्तु' अभ्यगा ५४

Kasika. जृष वयोहानौ, स्तम्भुः सौत्रो धातुः सुचु, लुचु गत्यर्थौ
मुचुग्लुचु स्तेयकरणे ग्लुचु प्रसज गतो दुर्ओश्च गतिवृद्धयोः । एतेभ्यो
धातुभ्यः परस्य क्त्वे, या अडादेशो भवति ।

Now let us suppose that the author of the Asth was also the author of the Dhātupāṭha. What would have happened? He would have attached the इत् indicator इत्, in the Dh P. itself to all the roots that occur in S. 58. except, the first and the last, to which it is impossible to attach इत् as an इत्, without spoiling the form of the roots. * It may be objected that the roots धृ etc. have already an इत् viz. ड at the end, and that it is impossible to add इत् also as an इत् to the roots in the Dh P. itself because then the roots would read धृत्तिवर्, गृह्णत्तिवर्, etc. and the ड would have lost its character of an इत् or indicator letter, and

* जूष + इर = जूषिर : द्वाञ्चि + इर = द्वाञ्चिरीर .

the roots when stripped of their इत्s would have been, ग्लुच्च् etc instead of ग्लुर् etc as required. But this is no great difficulty. It has been overcome in the Dhatupatha itself, by placing उ in the beginning of the root and ईर् at its end, cf उच्छृदिर्, (Rudhadi) उत्तृदिर् (Rudhadi) उवृन्दिर्, (Bhvadi). Thus by reading उवृचिर् etc. for वृच्च् etc. in the Dh. P. the author of the Astd. were he the author of the Dhatupatha also, could have reduced this lengthy sutra to जृश्चिभ्या च. That the author of the Astd. does not do so, shows that he got the Dh. P. well-fixed from his predecessors and being unable to make any changes in the Dh. P. directly, had recourse to special Astd. sutras, whenever he wanted to modify the effect of the Dh. P. on roots. The point will become clearer, when we consider the second kind of supplementary sutras.

(1. b) These are sutras which in effect ascribe a class or gana to a root, in addition to the one to which it already belongs according to the Dh. P. S. III. i. 70 is an example of this kind of sutras.

वा भ्राशभ्राशभ्रमुक्लमुलसिलुटिलषः ।

Kasika:- उभयत्र विभाषेयम् । दुभ्राश दुभ्लाशु भ्रमु अनवस्थ ने भ्रमु चलने । द्वयोरपि ग्रहणम् । क्रमु पादविक्षेपे क्लमु ग्लानौ । त्रसी उद्वेगे जुटी छेदने लषे कान्तौ एतेभ्यो वा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

Nyasa:- उभयत्र विभाषेयमिति । भ्रमेरनवस्थानर्थस्य क्लमित्रस्योश्च दैवादिकत्वात् प्राप्ते जुटेस्तौदादिकत्वाद् भ्राशप्रभृतीना भौवादिकत्वाद् अप्राप्ते ।

The purpose of this sutra is in effect to assign the roots mentioned therein, to both the Bhvadi and the Divadi classes. According to this sutra, the roots भ्रमु, क्लमु and त्रसी, which ex-

clusively take इयन् according to the Dh. P. being there mentioned only among the Divadis, take इयन् optionally; i. e. they take both इयन् and शप् (by S. III. i 68.); i. e. they are in effect both Bhvadis and Divadis. Of the other roots mentioned in the sūtra, जुट् occurs in the Dh. P. among the तुदादिस and the remaining among the Bhvadis. Thus the root जुट् would take only श as *vikarana* and the remaining roots only शप्, according to the Dh. P. But this sūtra lays down that they optionally take इयन् also. Thus the sūtra in effect says that जुट्, which according to the Dh. P. belongs only to the Tudadi class, ought also to belong to the Divadi class; & that the remaining roots though only Bhvadis according to the Dh. P. ought to be considered as Divadis also. Now let us suppose that the author of the Aṣṭa was also the author of the Dh. P. What would we expect? We would expect him to have dispensed with this sūtra, by including the roots mentioned in the sūtra, in the Dh. P. in both the *ganas* to which they belong or ought to belong. Thus he could well have included the roots आश्, भ्लाश्, भ्रम्, बलम्, लप्, and व्रस् in both the Bhvadis and the Divadis and the root जुट् in both the Divadis and the Tudadis. By so doing he could have altogether dispensed with this sūtra (3.1.70.). There are many instances in which the same root is mentioned in more than one *ganas* or classes in the Dh. P. Thus प्लुट् is included both in the Divadi and the Kryadi classes; बुध् अवबोधने in both the Divadi and the Bhvadi classes; वृषि आच्छादने among both the भ्वादिस and the तुदादिस; अतिविशी भयचलनयो. in both the Tudadis and the Rudhadis; the root धूश् कंपने occurs thrice in the Dh. P., in the Swadis, the Kryadis and the Ohuradis. And the root पुष् occurs

in the Dh. P. four times in four different classes; and he Bhvadis, the Divadis, the Kiyadis and the Cluadis; Sayana remarks on this root thus एक एव पुत्रिवैकरणभेदस्य तु न पठ्यते Dhatuvritti, Vol. II p. 388.

Now the fact that the author of the Astd. does not dispense with the sutra by including the roots mentioned therein in the various *ganas* in the Dh. P. to which they ought to belong, can be explained only on the hypothesis that the author of the Astd. was not the author of the Dh. P., that the author of the Astd. got the Dh. P. from his predecessors as *upadesa* and held it to be something sacred, with the text of which he could in no way meddle.

Having thus far dealt with the Astd. sutras which are supplementary to the Dh. P. we now proceed to the second kind of sutras referred to above, viz. sutras that contradict what has been taught in the Dh. P. sutras that say that a certain root though mentioned in a certain class in the Dh. P. nevertheless does not at all belong to that class, but to an altogether different class. S. III i. 80 is an instance in point.

हि वि धि वि कृ वि ॥ ८० ॥

Kasika — हि वि धि वि जि वि प्री ण ना र्था । कृ वि हिंसाकरणयोः । इत्येतयोर्धात्वोरुपस्ययो भवत्यकारश्चान्तादेशः । धिनोति कृणोति । अतो लोपस्य सान्निवद् भायाद्गुणो न भवति ।

Nyasa :— भ्यादित्वाच्छपि प्राप्ते पचनम् ।

In the Dh. P. roots धि वि and कृ वि occur in the first or the Bhvadi class. And according to VII. i. 58. (*Iditonum*

† Similar remarks apply to sutras III i. 75, 76 & 82

dhotah) the augment न् comes after the last vowel in the root. Thus धिन्वृत्ति, कृष्ण्वृत्ति etc. According to the Dh.P. Bhavadis would give us the forms धिन्यति, धिन्यतः, धिन्यन्ति and कृष्यति, कृष्यतः, कृष्यन्ति etc. But according to the opinion of the author of the Astād expressed in the sūtra under consideration the roots are धिन् and कृष्ण and take उ as vikarant instead of शप्. Thus the author of the Astādhyāyī is of opinion that the two roots are wrongly classed under the Bhavadis in the Dh.P. and that they really belong to the Tanadi class.

We think this is the strongest piece of internal evidence that could possibly be adduced to show that the author of the Astadhyayi is not the author of the Dhātup. It also shows that a great deal of time must have intervened between the author of the Dhātup and that of the Astadhyayi. At the time of the author of the Dhātup the roots धिन्च् and कृच् were used among the Sistas, with शच् for their vikaranta, but at the time of the author of the Astadhyayi, roots धिन्च् and कृच् as belonging to the Bhivadi class were obsolete and the Sistas used them with the vikaranta ङ; i. e. at the time of the author of the Astad. the roots were current as Tanadis.

The foregoing is sufficient to convince us that the author of the Astadhyayi is not the author of the Dh. P. But there is another circumstance also, which forces upon us the conclusion that the author of the Astd. got the Dh. P. from his predecessors, and held it to be something so sacred that he did not think it proper to make any changes in or additions to it directly we mean the occurrence in the Astd.

of some roots, which are quite unknown to the Dh. P. These are called सौत्रधातव. 'roots occurring only in the Sutra and not in the Dh. P.' They are eight in number — ऋति, occurring in III i. 29 ; ऊ, in III ii 150. ; ऐ, in VII. iii. 95. ; साति, in III. i. 138 ; and एकम्भु, स्कुम्भु, स्तम्भु and स्तुम्भु all in III. i. 82 , of these स्तम्भु occurs in III i 58. also

Now let us turn to the Bhasya on I. i 1. There we read as follows

भाष्यम् . एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदादिग्रहण करोति तज्ज्ञापय-
त्याचार्यः—अस्ति च पाठो बाह्यश्च सूत्रादिति किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्।
पाठेन धातुसंज्ञेत्येतदुपपन्नं भवति ।

प्रदीपः—पाठेनेति । ये धातुपाठे पठितास्तेषामेव धातुसंज्ञा । तेषां
पाठो नोपलक्षणार्थोऽपि तु इयत्ताप्रतिपादनार्थः ।

So Patanjali and Kaiyaṇa tell us that all the dhatus in the Sanskrit language are to be found in the Dh. P. and that what is not to be found there, is no *dhātu*. Then how can these *sautra* roots be called *dhatus* at all in view of the fact that they do not occur in the Dh. P. ? Nagojibhatta overcomes this difficulty by imagining that originally the roots did occur in the Dh. P., but that in course of time they have slipped out of it * But this is very unlikely, nay, rather impossible. If any thing, the *patha* of these roots in the Dh. P. ought to have been the more firmly fixed, because they occurred both in the sutra and the Dh. P. Many out-of-the-way roots, that do not occur either in

* पूर्व धातुपाठे पठितानामिदानीं पाठभ्रंशोऽनुमीयते । M. Bh. N. S.
Edit Vol. II, P. 112-b.



common literature or in the sutra, are *puṭhā* and *paribhrastā* in the Dh. P. Then why should the pattern of the *sautra* roots be lost?

We think, the non-occurrence of the *srūṭā* roots in the Dh. P. is to be attributed to the fact that the author of the Aśtd. was not the author of the Dh. P. and that though the author of the Aśtd., came across some roots not mentioned in the Dh. P. yet he did not think it proper on his part to insert them into the Dh. P., and thus transfer with its text, because the Dh. P. was something very sacred to him, he having received it as *upadeśa* from his predecessors.

II

External Evidence.

1. *Kaṣyapa*†—But how are we to get over the technical difficulty in calling words like ऋति (occurring in S. III 29) चुलुम्प (occurring in Vait. अनेकान्ग्रहणं चुलुम्पं वर्धम्), and the कण्ड्यादि (occurring in the *kandādī* sūtra, cited to in S. कण्ड्यादिभ्यो यक् III i 27) — how to call these *dhatu*s in as much as they do not occur in the Dh. P.? Kaṣyapa answers this question with the words तल्लेखे सूत्रवार्तिक-भाष्य-गणेषु पठ्यन्ते, तैऽपि सूत्रकारादिप्रामाण्यात् धातुत्वेनाश्रयणीयाः

सूत्रकारादिप्रामाण्यात् evidently means सूत्रकार-वार्तिककार-भाष्य-कार-गणकाराणां प्रामाण्यात्. So Kaṣyapa says that the roots occurring in the Sūtra (Aśtd.), the Vaitika, the Dhasya, and the Ganapatha, are also to be regarded as *dhatu*s because the Sūtrakara, the Vaitikakara, the Dhasyakara and the Ganakara are all of them authorities (pramāṇyat) in the matter of

† On Bhasya, on I. iii. 1

Thus on rule (1) (केतुः धातुपठकारा) evidently refers to the Bhasyakara on the Vait rather than the author of the Dh P. And the Sutrakara who is spoken of on the same breath as the Vaitakara and the Bhasyakara must also like the two latter be not the author of the Dh P according to the rule of सहचर्य or *ejusdem generis*. This shows that the Sutrakara was according to Kaiyata, different from the author of the Dh P. Otherwise Kaiyata would have spoken of the *sutra* roots and the Sutrakara separately. In others, thus—
नन्त्र ये सौला धातवस्तेषामपि धातुत्वम् सूत्रकारस्य धातुकारादनन्यत्वात्.

An objection may be raised against this. Kaiyata comments on the Bhasya on the Vait परिष्कारग्रहणं करिष्यामि. It says—
ततश्च स्वेवशब्दाद्व्यादिप्रसंगः न चाप्यथः परिच्छेदक-
तस्य अपाणिनीयत्वात्. The expression तस्य अपाणिनीयत्वात् indicates that Kaiyata held the अर्थनिर्देश to be अपाणिनीय and the Dh P minus the अर्थनिर्देश to be *Panniya*. But the word 'Panniya' is ambiguous meaning both पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् and पाणिनिना अभ्युपगतम्. And we are told by no less an authority than the author of the Nyasa, that the word 'Panniya', when used with reference to the Dh P, is to be understood in the latter sense.

2. CHANDRA—

In his Vint on S I. 1. 5 of his work Chandra refers to the statement at the end of the Pannian Dh. P. *यस्य पुच्छादिषु धात्वर्थ इत्येव सिद्धम्*, as the saying of the *Dhatukara*.

+ अपाणिनीयमिति । पाणिनेरिदं पणिनीयम् न पाणिनीयमपाणिनीयमिति तेन अनभ्युपगमात् । न तु तेन अकृतत्वात् । Nyasa on VII. iv. 3

Panini is known as the author of the *Vyākaraṇa* that goes by his name * Now Katyāyana defines *Vyākaraṇa* as लक्ष्यलक्षणे ** What is the *lakṣya*? 'The *śabda*' or words as used in the *Loka* and the *Veda*. And what is *lakṣana*? It is the *Sūtra* † Let us now see whether the Dh. P. can be included in either category. It cannot evidently be included in *lakṣana* which is *sūtra* ‡ And moreover *lakṣana* is described as सामान्यविशेषवत् § and this description obviously does not apply to the Dh. P. Neither can it be included in the *lakṣya* because roots are used neither in the *Loka* nor in the *Veda* by themselves. It may be said that the *lakṣya* is *śabda* or words and the Dh. P. consists of roots which are *śabda* or words and that therefore we can say that the Dh. P. being a list of words is included in the *Lakṣya*. But it is to be noted that the words *śabda* and *lakṣya* are used both in the *Bhāṣya* and the *Vartikā* in the sense of words used in the *Loka* and the *Veda* and neither in the *Loka* nor in the *Veda* are bare roots without *pratyayas* used. Therefore the words *śabda* and *lakṣya* in the *Bhāṣya*

* येनाक्षरसामान्यामक्षिगम्य महेश्वरात्

कृत्स्नं वाच्यं तत्तं तस्यैव तत्तं नमः । ५१८ ॥ ५१.

† Vartika — लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम् Paspasa.

‡ किं पुनर्लक्ष्यम्? किं न लक्षणम्? शब्दो लक्ष्यः सूत्रं लक्षणम्

Paspasa

§ Cf. अस्ति च पाठं बाह्यश्च सूत्रात् । (पाठ = वातुपाठ) Bhāṣya

॥ १ ॥

§ कथं तर्हीमं शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्या । किञ्चित् सामान्यविशेषवद्वर्णनं प्रवर्त्यम् येनाल्पेन यत्नेन महती महतः शब्दोद्यमः प्रतिपद्येरन् किं पुनस्तत् । उत्सर्गोपवादी । कश्चिदुत्सर्गः कर्तव्यः कश्चिदुपवाद् । Paspasa

and the Vartika do not include the roots mentioned in the Dh. P. Even if it be held that the words *lakṣya* and *śabda* include the roots mentioned in the Dh. P. yet we cannot say that Panini is the author of the Dh. P. Patanjali emphatically says न हि पाणिनिना शब्दाः प्रोक्ताः किं तर्हि ? सूत्रम्. And to judge from his Vartika on VI. 1. 7 and 8, Kūṭilyana is of opinion that the word *Vyākaraṇa* does not include the Dh. P. §

In one passage Patanjali refers to the author of the Dh. P. as the Acharya of both himself and the Sūtrakara.

स्वरितजितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले । iii 72.

भाष्यम् — स्वरितजित इति किमर्थम् ? याति व ति द्राति प्रसाति स्वरितजित इति शक्यमकर्तुम् इह कस्मान्न भवति, याति याति द्राति प्रसाति इति । कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफल इत्युच्यते सर्वत्र च कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफलमस्ति त एवं विहास्यमः येषां कर्त्रभिप्रायमकर्त्रभिप्रायं च क्रियाफलमस्ति तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवतीति न च येषां कर्त्रभिप्रायं चाकर्त्रभिप्रायं च क्रियाफलमस्ति । तथाजातीयकाः खलु आचार्येण स्वरितजितः पठिता ये उभयवन्तः । येषां कर्त्रभिप्रायं चाकर्त्रभिप्रायं च क्रियाफलमस्ति

Here Patanjali maintains that the Sūtrakara could have omitted the word स्वरितजितः from the sūtra, and cites an Acharya in his argument against the use of the word. It is evident that the word 'Acharya' must refer to

† Cf. धातुवै शब्दः । Bhasya on III. ii. 115.

§ व्याकरणाख्याया चतुर्थ्या VI. iii 7.

परस्य च VII. iii 8

वार्तिकम् — आत्मनेपादपरस्मैभावशब्दोऽप्युक्तः ।

प्रदीपः : - आत्मनेपादपरस्मैभावशब्दौ च न केषुचिद् व्याकरणेषु संज्ञाभेदे विनिर्मुक्तौ वर्तते अतः उक्तं प्रसङ्गः ।

a person who stands in the relation of an "Acharya" to both the Sutrakara and Patanjali and in this case he can be none else than the Dhatukara.

The point will become clearer when we consider some of the cases in which the Vartikakara is attacked and shown that his Vartika is either not needed or wrong on the ground of *Acharya pravritti*.

Under SS 65 & 66, Katyavana attacks the प्रकल्पपक्ष with the Vartika —

वा सप्तमपञ्चम्यांश्च भावादुभयत्र षष्ठीप्रकृतिस्तत्रोभयकार्यप्रसङ्गः न

Patanjali's Vartika attacks Katyavana's Vartika —

भाष्यम् यदप्युच्यत — सप्तमपञ्चम्यांश्च भावादुभयत्र षष्ठीप्रकृतिस्तत्रोभयकार्यप्रसङ्ग इति नैष दोषः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति-नोभे युगपत्प्रकल्पिके भवत इति यद्यमेकं पूर्वपरयोरिति पूर्वपरग्रहणं करोति

Here the Acharya referred to is neither the Vartikakara nor the Bhasyakara but a third person viz. Panini, who is the Acharya of both Katyavana and Patanjali.

चतुर्थी सम्प्रदाने । [[ii]]

Katyavana's Vartika is —

चतुर्थी तद्वान् । इत् उपसर्गः । न

Patanjali attacking this Vartika says —

भाष्यम् — तत्तर्ह्युपसर्गवान् कर्तव्यम् । न कर्तव्यम् । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति-भवति तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थीति यद्य चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थ इति चतुर्थ्यन्तस्य तदर्थेन सह समासवचनं शान्ति ।

Here Patanjali says that Katyavana's Vartika is not needed at all, because of the *Acharya pravritti* mentioned. The

Acharya referred to here is neither Patanjali, nor Attha I nor Katyayana, who is attacked but a third person viz. Patan who is Acharya to both Katyayana and Patanjali.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेन सिद्ध्यश्च । IV ii. 101

वार्तिकम् - प्रत्यक्षकारिग्रहणम्

भाष्यम् - प्रत्यक्षकारिग्रहणं वर्तव्यम् अन्तेवास्यन्तेवासिभ्यो मा भूदिति तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् न वक्तव्यम् कलापिखाडायनग्रहणं ज्ञापकं वैशम्पायनन्तेवासिषु प्रत्यक्षकारिग्रहणस्य यद्य कलापिखाडायनग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो नान्तेन स्यन्तेवासिभ्यो भवताति etc.

etc. Katyāna's Vārtika is attacked on the ground that what he means to 're' by means of the Vārtika is already indicated by himself by the Acharya's instruction of the word 'Khatayana' in the Shrutavak class-group, and of the word 'Kulipi' in the sutra (IV i. 101). It is quite evident that the word Acharya here refers to neither Katyāna who is attacked nor to Patanjali who attacks but refers to a third person viz. the Sūtrakṛt who is Acharya to both Patanjali and Katyāyana.

Now let us turn to the 'स्वरितञित' passage again.

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले । I. iii. 72.

भाष्यम् - स्वरितञित इति किमर्थम् ? याति वाति द्राति प्लाति स्वरितञित इति शक्यमकर्तुम् इह कस्मान्न भवति, याति वाति द्राति प्लातीति' कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफल इत्युच्यते । सर्वेषां च कर्त्रभिप्रायः क्रियाफलमस्ति । त एवं विज्ञास्यामो येषां कर्त्रभिप्रायः चाकर्त्रभिप्रायः च क्रियाफलमस्ति तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवतीति । न चैषां कर्त्रभिप्रायः चाकर्त्रभिप्रायः च क्रियाफलमस्ति । तथाजातीयकाः खलु आचार्येण स्वरितञितं पठिता, ये उभयवन्तः येषां कर्त्रभिप्रायः चाकर्त्रभिप्रायः च क्रियाफलमस्ति ।

Here Patanjali attacks the Sutrakara and says he could have done as well without using the word स्वरितञित्, and cites an Acharya in his argument against the use of the word. It is evident that as in the passages quoted above, the word *Acharya* must refer neither to the person attacked viz. the Sutrakara, nor to the person attacked viz. the Bhasyakara but must refer to a third person viz. the धातुपाठकार, who is the Acharya of both Patanjali and Panini, and who is responsible for the स्वरितञित्, reading of roots येषां कर्त्रभिप्राये चाकर्त्रभिप्राये च क्रियाफलमस्ति ।

† JINENDRA BUDH

If there still linger any doubts in the mind of the reader as to the non identity of Panini, the author of the 'Astadhyayi' and the author of the Dh. P., the author of the Nyasa sets them at rest finally. Commenting on VII. iv. 3 he says— 'प्रतिपादितं हि पूर्वं गणकार पाणिनिर्न भवतीति तथा चान्यो हि गणकारः अन्यश्च सूत्रकारः ।' And again on VII. iv. 75. he says :— 'यद्यत्र त्रिग्रहणं क्रियते निजादीनामन्ते वृत्करणं विमर्शम् ? एतद् गणकार प्रवृत्त्य न सूत्रकारः । अन्यो हि गणकारोऽन्यश्च सूत्रकार इत्युक्तं प्राक्

I have not been able to find out where it is definitely established (प्रतिपादित) by the author of the Nyasa that the Sutrakara and the Dhatukara are different. But it should be noted that his comment on I. iii. 1 and 2 clearly suggests that Panini accepted the Dh. P. from his predecessors. In his comment on VII. iv. 3 he says that the Dh. P. is called

* गणपाठसामर्थ्यात् पाठोऽप्यंगीक्रियते । Nyasa I. iii. 1.

Pāṇiniya not because Pāṇi composed it but because it accepted it §

I must here acknowledge that I was first made aware of the passage under VII v 3 in the Nyasa - after I had independently arrived at the conclusion that the author of the *Aṣṭa* was not the author of the *Dhātupāṭha* - as 'As to the inclusion of *Vyad* in the *Clat* (V 1. 48) *Gāhādī* (IV ii 66) and the *Krodhyad* (IV . 80) *ganas*, it is to be noted that the groups of words originally fixed, had been augmented with later additions to them by other grammarians. This probably led Jinendra Buddhi to observe in VII iv 3 'प्रतिपादितं हि प्रय गणकारः, पाणिनिर्न भवतीति तत्र च न्यो हि गणकारोऽन्यो हि सूत्रकारः.' " quoted by Sri Chandra Chakravart in his Introduction (16) to a scholarly edition of the Nyasa. But it is submitted the author of the Nyasa does not mean by the word 'ganakara' the author of the *Pratipadika* *ganas*, but the author of the *Dhātupāṭha*. This is quite clear from the context where the passage in question occurs in the Nyasa. Cf also Nyasa on I ii 1. 'भूवाद्यो दशगणीपरिपठिता गृह्यन्ते । and 'गणपाठस्तु पूर्ववदेवांगीक्रियते " Ibid.

§ अपाणिनीयमिति पाणिनेरिदं पाणिनीयम् न पाणिनयम्-अपाणिनयमिति तेनानभ्युपगमात्, न तु तेनाकृतत्वात् VII iv. "

But there are great, and at first sight almost insuperable, difficulties in the way of our accepting the theory that the author of the Aśtd. is not the author of the Dh. P. as is. The Dh. P. presupposes many of the sutras of the Aśtd. Let us for example take the Sūtra फणञ्चसमानाम् (VI. iv. 125) and the Sūtra यन्निस्वपियत्रदीनां किति (VI. i. 15). If the author of the Dh. P. had not in his mind these or similar sutras while composing his Dh. P., he would not have collected all the seven roots, whose अवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यामलोपश्च लिटि कृदिति परत थल्लि च सेटि, in one place with the root फण at the head, similarly he would not have collected all the roots which take *Samprasāraṇa* किति प्रत्यये परत in one place, with the root यञ् at the head. If the author of the Dh. P. were absolutely ignorant of any rule like इम्यन्तश्चणश्चसजागृणिश्च्येदिता (VII. i. 5) he could not have attached ए as इत् or indicator letter in his Dh. P. to such of the roots as take no *radhā* इडादी गिति परस्मैपदे परत. And if he were quite innocent of any rule like द्वितोऽधुच् (III. iii. 99.) there would not have been found in the Dh. P. roots like द्ववम्. Such examples can be adduced by scores. And this would seem to irresistably force upon us the conclusion that the author of the Aśtd. is also the author of—in Goldstucker's words 'at least the ground work of the existing Dh. P.'*

We have now arrived at a dilemma.

* We may note here one difficulty in accepting Goldstucker's view that the ground-work of the Dh. P. is Panini's and that it was enlarged by Acharyas that came after Panini. If the Dh. P. was enlarged after the time of Panini, then, why were the *sūtra* roots not included in it?

The Dh. P. does not seem to be by the author of the Astl, but seems to be the work of a predecessor of him. But nevertheless the arrangement of roots in the Dh. P. clearly shows that the author of the Dh. P. knew very many sutras now found in the Astl and so arranged the roots in the Dh. P. as to serve the purposes of those sutras.

CHAPTER III

THE PARIBHĀSAS

परित प्रमिताक्षरापि सर्वं विषयं व्याप्तवती गता प्रतिष्ठाम्
न खलु प्रतिहन्यते कदाचित् परिभाषेव गरीयसी यदाज्ञा

शिञ्जुपालवध. XVI. 80.

If any one were to pick up a copy of the Aṣṭa and try to learn the Sanskrit language from it, he will be sorely disappointed. He will find that the arrangement of topics and rules (sūtras) in the Aṣṭa is not the arrangement that is followed in modern works on Sanskrit grammar. We must remember that the Aṣṭa was written, not for those whose mother-tongue was not Sanskrit and who had to learn Sanskrit quite anew, but for those whose mother tongue was Sanskrit, who used Sanskrit in their daily life, and who required a *short but exhaustive* hand book of Sanskrit grammar from which they could ascertain the correct form of a word whenever there arose any doubts in their minds as to its correctness. Therefore the writings that were aimed at in the Aṣṭa were *brevity* and *exhaustiveness*. And to secure these ends there is followed in the Aṣṭa a peculiar arrangement of topics and sūtras which appears at first sight so puzzling and unmethodical to a modern student of Pāṇini. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that there is no method in the Aṣṭa. The method followed in the Aṣṭa is given in what are called the Paribhāsas. They teach how the sūtras of the Aṣṭa are to be interpreted and applied, they explain

among other things, the significance of the various इत्s or
indicatory letters, and of the use of different cases in the Astl.
They are, so to say, the key with which to unlock the intricate
cases of the Astl.

The Paribhasas applicable to the Astl, are of two
kinds

1. Those that are expressly laid down in the Astl itself.

2. Those that are applicable to the Astl, though
not expressly laid down therein, because they are in the words
of the Paribhasenduśkhara - पणिनोगतरं जगकन्याससिद्धानि

In the following few pages we shall consider only some
of the important Paribhasas of the first kind. We shall begin
with the simplest of them, viz —

I

विप्रतिषेधे पर कार्यम् I iv. 2.

Kasika — तुल्यबलविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः । यत्र द्वौ प्रसगावन्याथा-
वेकस्मिन् युगपत्प्राप्तः स तुल्यबलविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः । तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे
परं कार्यं भवति । उत्सर्गापवादमित्यानित्यानन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गेषु तुल्यबलता ना-
स्तीति नायमस्य योगस्य विषयः । बलवतैव तत्र भवितव्यम् । अप्रवृत्तौ
पर्यायेण वा प्रवृत्तौ प्राप्तायां वचनमारभ्यते । अतो दीर्घो यत्र सुपिचेल्य-
स्यावकाशः । वृक्षाभ्याम् । पुक्षाभ्याम् । बहुवचने कृत्येदित्यस्यावकाशः ।
वृक्षेषु । पुक्षेषु । इहोभयं प्राप्नोति । वृक्षेभ्यः पुक्षेभ्य इति । परं भवति
विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

The word *vipratishedha* means 'opposition of rules of
equal force.' When two sutras having different objects in
view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case,
that opposition of sutras of equal force is called *vipratishedha*.

A general rule and its exception, or an invariable and an optional rule, or an *antaranga* and a *bahiranga* rule, are not rules of equal force. Here the strong prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VI. m. 102 and 103. The first rule declares: "When a case affix beginning with a letter of the यञ् *pratyahara* follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in an अ; as वृक्ष + भ्याम् वृक्षाभ्याम्. The next rule declares: "When a plural case affix beginning with a letter of the झल् *pratyahara* follows, ए is substituted for the final short अ of an inflective base." As वृक्ष + सु = वृक्षेषु. But when the plural case affix 'भ्य' follows what rule are we to apply? For the letter य belongs to both the *Pratyaharas* यञ् and झल्. Are we to lengthen the short अ or substitute ए? Here there is अनियम. The present sūtra comes in and substitutes नियम in the place of अनियम, by laying down that ए is to be substituted because VII. m. 103 ordains ए comes after VII. m. 102. Thus वृक्ष + भ्यस् वृक्षेभ्यः. So we arrive at the definition of Paribhasa अनियमे नियमकारिणी परिभाषा।

There is a sūtra corresponding to this Astl. sūtra in the Pūva Mīmamsā Sūtra of Jaimini —

पूर्वोपये पूर्वज्ञैर्ज्ञेयं प्रकृतिर्यः V' 51 ✓

The grounds on which this sūtra rests, and which apply equally to the corresponding *Vatkrantasūtra* under consideration are very clearly stated by Madhava in his Jaiminiyanyasūtravṛttantī, thus —

उत्पद्यमानं चोत्तरज्ञानं स्वविरुद्धस्य पूर्वज्ञानस्य बाधनेनैवात्पद्यते । ननु निरपेक्षत्वस्य समानता पूर्वज्ञानमेवोत्तरस्य बाधकमस्त्विति चेत् । न । पूर्वज्ञान-

नोत्पत्तिदशायामविद्यमानरयोत्तरज्ञानस्य बाध्यत्वायां गात् । उत्तरक ले तु
रवय बाधित पूर्वज्ञान कथमुत्तरस्य बाधक भवेत् ।

In his Bhasya on I 8 Patanjali says that the अधिकार
is of three kinds and proceeds to enumerate and explain them.
Of these the first is described as follows —

भाष्यम् कश्चिदेकदेशस्थ सर्वं शास्त्रमभिज्वलयति । यथा प्रदीपः
सुप्रज्वलित सर्वं वेश्ममभिज्वलयति ।

प्रदीपः कश्चिदिति परिभाषारूप इत्यर्थः ।

Thus a *Paribhasa* is according to Patanjali, of universal
application in the *Astā*. The *Paribhasa* which we would expect,
The *Paribhasa* being a rule of interpretation, ought to apply
to the whole of the book to which it was meant to apply, if
the book is the work of one author written according to a
definite plan. If we find that a *Paribhasa* is not of universal
application then, we may be sure, there is a grave irregularity
which calls for a thorough investigation.

Now, is this *Paribhasa* laid down in I 2 of universal
application in the *Astā*? Can we say of this *Paribhasa* that
the एकदेशस्था सर्वं शास्त्रमभिज्वलयति? Turning to the Bhasya
on the sutra under consideration we find that Katyayana
had noticed that this *Paribhasa* did not apply to the *Angathar-
kara* and so proposed to restate the sutra thus —

विप्रतिषेधे परसंगधिकारे पूर्वम्

But even this amendment would not mend matters be-
cause there were found to be cases of परविप्रतिषेध in the अंगाधि-
कार and of पूर्वविप्रतिषेध in the other parts of the *Astā*. So
Patanjali offers us the counsel of despair that the word पर
in the sutra be taken to mean इष्ट.

भाष्यम्.—यथान्यासमेवास्तु । कथं ये पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाः । विप्रतिषेधे परमित्येव सिद्धम् । कथम् । परशब्दोऽयं बहुवचनार्थः । अस्त्येव व्यवस्थायां वर्तते, तद्यथा—पूर्वं पर इति । अस्त्यन्यार्थे वर्तते परपुत्र परभार्या । अन्यपुत्रोऽन्यभार्येति गम्यते । अस्ति प्राधान्ये वर्तते तद्यथा—परमिय ब्राह्मण्यस्मिन् कुटुम्बे । प्रधानमिति गम्यते अस्तीष्टवाची परशब्दस्तद्यथा—पर धाम गतः इष्टं धाम गत इति गम्यते । तत्र इष्टवाची परशब्दस्तस्येदं ग्रहणम् । विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तद्ववतीति ।

प्रदीप - तद्य इष्टवाचीति । इष्टानिष्टविभागश्च व्याख्यानाद् बोध्यः

उद्योत - ननु लक्षणचक्षुषा तद्विभागो दुर्ज्ञेयोऽत आह इष्टानिष्टेति ।

The remarks of Kaiyata and Nagoji show where the real weakness of Patanjali's explanation lies. If we accept Patanjali's rendering of the word पर by the word इष्ट, then the Paribhasa becomes worse than useless; it serves no purpose as we have to fall back upon the *Vyākhyāna* to know what is इष्ट. Another thing to note in this connection is that Patanjali himself was not satisfied with this explanation of the Sūtra, and so proposed to overcome the difficulty of पूर्वविप्रतिषेधः under S. I. m. 11, by taking the word अधिकार in that sūtra to mean अधिकः कार. Says he—

अधिकः कार.—पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाश्च न पठितव्या भवन्ति । गुणवृद्धयो-
त्त्वतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नु पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धम् । नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुट् इति
नुमृटौ स्वरयिष्येते तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकः कारो भवतीति नुमृटौ भविष्यतः ।

The Vartika and the portion of the Bhasya, which we have up to now considered, show that the rule laid down in I. iv. 2. applies, broadly speaking, to the whole of the Aṣṭa.

except the *Angadhikara*; in the *Angadhikara* the rule is विप्रतिपेधे पूर्वम्, that is, exactly the reverse of what it is in the rest of the Aśd. Thus the *Angadhikara* does not agree with regard to its arrangement of the weaker and stronger rules, with the rest of the Aśd. In the Aśd. except the *Angadhikara* the stronger rule, 'generally speaking, follows after the weaker one and prevails over it, but in the *Angadhikara*, on the other hand, it is the stronger rule that comes first and then follows the weaker. What is the explanation of this anomaly?

II

आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ । 1. i. 45

Kasika:— आदिष्टिद्भवत्यन्त. विद्भवति षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य । लविता मुण्डो भीषयते । टित्प्रदेशा. — आर्धधातुकस्येड्वलादेरित्येवमादय । वित्प्रदेशा भियो हेतुभये षुक् इत्येवमादय

Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicator दू or कू, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicator letters, viz दू and कू. Where the indicator letter of an augment is दू, that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कित् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined and becomes the end part or अन्त of the word to which it is added. Thus there is a sūtra (VII ii 35) which says.— "Ardhadhatuka affixes beginning with a consonant except य् have ईद्" The question arises "Where

is this ईङ् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the अर्धधातुक affix? The sutra answers the question. The indicator ङ shows, that it is to be placed before the *ardhadhatuka* affix. Thus “रय” in the future termination स्यति is an *ardhadhatuka* affix, when this is added to the root, it takes the augment ईङ्, being placed before रय, thus भू + इयति – भविष्यति. Similarly लविता.

Similarly by sutra VII 11. 40 the root भा takes the augment पुक् in forming the causative. This having an indicator क् is to be added after the root भा and when added becomes the end part of the root, as भी पुक् णिच् न भीष्यते.

Thus far everything is quite clear. But we come across sutras like चरेष्ट and आतोऽनुपसर्गे क. In ष्ट the real affix is अ, the letter ष्ट being indicator. Now an affix is “an addition placed at the beginning or end of a root stem or word, to modify its meaning (C. O. E. D). Where is the addition अ to be placed, at the beginning of root चर् or at its end? The indicator letter ष्ट would seem to point to the beginning of the root चर्, as the proper place. But the sutra परश्च, (III. 2) asks us to place the affix अ after the root चर्. How to come out of this difficulty? The question has been dealt with by Katyayana and Patanjali at length, and we shall turn to them.

वार्तिकम् :- टकितोराद्यन्तविधाने प्रत्ययप्रतिषेधः ।

भाष्यम् :- टकितोर द्यन्तविधाने प्रत्ययस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । प्रत्यय आदिरन्तो वा मा भूदिति चरेष्ट आतोऽनुपसर्गे क इति ।

When we lay down a rule that a *टिक्* and a *कित्* become respectively the beginning and end of a stem we have to exclude a *pratyaya* from the operation of the rule, so that a *pratyaya* shall not be taken to be either a beginning or an end of the stem it is added to, for example in चरेष्ट and आतोनुपसर्गे क

वार्तिकम् - परवचनात् सिद्धम् ।

भाष्यम् - परवचनात्प्रत्यय आदिरन्तो वा न भविष्यति

A *pratyaya* will be neither a beginning nor an end of the stem because S परश्च (III 1 2) lays down that a *pratyaya* shall be placed after the stem.

वार्तिकम् - परवचनात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नापवादत्वात् ।

भाष्यम् - परवचनात्सिद्धमिति चेत्तन्न किं कारणम् ? अपवादत्वात् । अपवादोऽयं योगः । तद्यथा मिदचोन्त्यात् पर इत्येव योगः स्थाने-योगत्वस्य प्रत्ययपरत्वस्य चापवादः

It cannot be said that the difficulty is solved by S III 1 2. Why ? Because this rule is an exception (to S परश्च) just as 'मिदचोन्त्यात् पर.' is an exception to the rules "पृष्ठी स्थाने-योगा " and ' परश्च '

भाष्यम् :- विषम उपन्यासः । युक्तं तत्र यदनवकाशं वित्करणस्थानोयोगत्व प्रत्ययपरत्व च बाधते । इह पुनस्तत्र सावकाशम् । टित्करणस्यावकाशः टित् इतीकारो यथा स्यात् । वित्करणस्यावकाशः वित्तीत्यकारलोपो यथा स्यात् ।

Your statement is wide of the mark. It is but proper in the case of III 1 78 (स्वादिभ्यः शम्), that the indicatory

letter म् having no other purpose than to indicate that the *pratyaya* न्, is to be placed after the last vowel, according to sūtra मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः, should make that sūtra an exception to SS षष्ठी स्थ नैयोगा and परश्च But in the case of sūtras चरेष्ठ and आतोनुपसर्गे क, both the indicatory letters द् and क् have other scope, than the indication of the place where the *pratyayas* are to be added to the roots. The indicatory letter द् in the *pratyaya* दे shows that the feminine of the word which is formed by the addition of दे is to be formed with the affix डी (IV. 1. 15) as कुम्भरी, भद्रवरी; and the indicatory letter क् in the addition के shows that the अ at the end of a stem is to be elided when adding the affix क (VI. 1. 64) Therefore the indicatory letters द् and क् in SS. चरेष्ठ and आतोनुपसर्गे क having other scope, cannot be deemed to be there for the purpose of showing the place where the affixes are to be added to the stem and so they cannot make S. I. 1. 45 an exception to S. परश्च

भाष्यम् :- प्रयोजन नाम तद्वक्तव्य यन्नियोगत स्यात् । यदि चाय-
नियोगत पर स्यात् तत एतत्प्रयोजन स्यात् । कुतो नु खल्वेतत्—
टि-करण दय परो भविष्यति न पुनरादिरिति । किंकरणाच्च परो भवि-
ष्यति न पुनरन्त इति

प्रदीप - प्रयं जनमिति । सति परत्वे प्रयोजनमेतत्स्यात् । परत्वमेव
त्वलभ्यमित्यर्थः ।

That should be advanced as the end in view which takes place of necessity. If the addition is shown to be *para* of necessity, then the end in view ascribed above by you to the indicatory letters द् and क् would be correct. But how at all do you come to the conclusion, that the affix दे on account

of its having a ट् as indicatory letter becomes *para* and not *adi*, and the affix क्, on account of its having an indicatory क् becomes *para* and not *anta*?

भाष्यम् -- टिन खल्वप्येष परिहारः, यत्र नास्ति सम्भवो यत्परश्च स्यादादिश्च । कितस्त्वपरिहारः अस्ति हि सम्भवो यत्परश्च स्यादन्तश्च ।

And moreover your explanation applies at the most to the affixes that have an indicatory ट् where it is not possible that the same affix should be both *para* and *adi*, at one and same time. But it does not remove the difficulty about the कित् affixes, where it is possible for the affix to be both an अन्त and पर with regard to the stem, at one and the same time

भाष्यम् -- तत्र को दोषः ।

What would be wrong if we take it to be so?

भाष्यम् :- उपसर्गे घोः किः । आध्यो प्रध्यो । नोङ् धात्वोरिति प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत ।

S. III. m. 92. (उपसर्गे घोः किः) lays down that the affix कि is added at the end of a धु verb, when an *upasarga* is in composition with it. The letter क् in the affix कि is indicatory by force of which the final अ is elided (VI iv 64). Thus प्र + धा + कि प्रधि, the periphery of a wheel and आ + धा + कि-आधिः, mental pain आधि + ओस्-आध्योः, प्रधि + ओस्=प्रध्योः. The *vibhakti* is in both the cases *udatta*. But if we regard कि as the *anta* of root प्रधा, then the word प्रधि would still have to be regarded as a root, and S VI i 175. would have given us forms in which the *vibhakti* would have been *svarita*. Therefore we cannot treat a कित् *pratyaya* as both an *anta* and *para*; we have to treat it only as *para*.

भाष्यम्.- टितश्चाप्यपरिहारः । स्यादेव ह्ययं टित्करणादादिर्न पुनरन्तः ।

Your explanation does not remove the difficulty about the टित् affixes also. On account of the indicatory ट् the *pratyaya* would necessarily become the आदि of the stem and not पर.

भाष्यम् - क तर्हीदानीमिदं स्यात् -टित ईकारो भवतीति ।

Then where does the rule, that a word ending in a टित् affix takes the affix ई to form the feminine apply ?

भाष्यम् :- य उभयवान्—गापोष्टगिति *

To the case of an affix which has both the indicatory letters ट् and क्; to ' गापोष्टक् ' for example

वार्तिकम् .- सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात् ।

भाष्यम् .- सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् षष्ठ्यधिकारेऽयं योगः कर्तव्यः
आद्यन्तौ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येति ।

The Pratyayas can be saved from the operation of this rule (*paribhasa*). How ? This rule should be put under the domain of the षष्ठी, thus : ' Affixes having a ट् or a क् as an indicatory letter, become respectively the beginning and end of that which is put in the षष्ठी or the genitive case

वार्तिकम् :- आद्यन्तयोर्वा षष्ठ्यर्थत्वात्तदभावेऽसम्प्रत्ययः ।

भाष्यम् .- आद्यन्तयोर्वा षष्ठ्यर्थत्वात् तदभावे षष्ठ्या अभावे
असम्प्रत्ययः स्यात्—आदिरन्तो वा न भविष्यति ।

* प्रदीप - अत्र किस्वात्परत्वादन्तत्वमिति टितन्तमेतद्भवतीति डीपीऽ
यमवकाशः । ततश्च चरेष्ट इत्ययमादिः स्यात्

Or because to express the sense of 'आदि' or 'अन्त' the use of षष्ठी or the genitive case is necessary, therefore when there is no षष्ठी used, neither 'आदि' nor 'अन्त' can be understood

भाष्यम् - युक्त पुनर्यच्छब्दनिमित्तको नामर्थः स्यात् ? नार्थनिमित्तकेन नाम शब्देन भवितव्यम् ?

Is it right that the meaning should be subservient to words ? Rather, is it not that words should be subservient to sense ?

भाष्यम् - अर्थनिमित्तक एव शब्दः । तत्कथम् ? आद्यन्तौ षष्ठ्यर्थौ । न चात्र षष्ठी पर्याया । ते मन्यामहे—आद्यन्तावेवात्र न स्तः । तयोरभावे षष्ठ्यपि न भवतीति ।

Yes, certainly it is the sense that should cause the use of words. How then ? Whenever we have to express the sense of 'adi' or 'anta', we must necessarily use a षष्ठी. This is the beginning of this ; this is the end of that. We do not see any *sasthi* here (*i. e.* in SS. like चरेष्टः and आतो-नुपसर्गे कः). Therefore we think here there is neither an *adi* nor an *anta* meant.

The portion of the Bhasya we have considered up to now establishes that:—

1. The sutra आद्यन्तौ टकितौ is an exception to the sutra परब (परबचनासिद्धमिति चेन्नापवादत्वात्)

And

2. The difficulty indicated in वा टकितोराद्यन्तविधाने प्रत्ययप्रतिषेधः, can be met in two ways as indicated in the two वार्तिकः—

a. सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात् ।

b. आद्यन्तयोर्वा षष्ठ्यर्थत्वात्तदभावेऽसम्प्रत्ययः

So in S चरेष्ट, 'चरे' is in the ablative case and consequently ष cannot be taken to be there for the purpose of indicating that the अ is to be added at the beginning of root चर् itself; such would have been taken to be the purpose of the indicator ष, if 'चरः' were a *sasthi*, when the rule आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ would have applied. Similar is the case with S. आतोनुपसर्गे क. It is only the absence of a *sasthi*, (आत being abl. sing.), which saves the *pratyaya* अ from being the end-part of the root to which it is added.

Now let us see if there are any sutras, where an affix with an indicator ष or क is enjoined (विहित), and where the *prakriti* or the stem is indubitably put in the genitive case. Many such cases occur; of them गापोष्टक् and ब्रीहिशाल्योर्ढक् are two. Here indubitably the words गापो. and ब्रीहिशाल्योः expressing the *prakritis* or stems, are put in the genitive case. And according to the conclusion arrived at in the Bhasya, we shall have to say, that the use of the genitive makes the *pratyaya* the end-part or *anta* of the *prakritis* or stems to which it is added. We can say — आद्यन्तौ षष्ठ्यर्थौ षष्ठी चान्न पश्यामः ते मन्यामहे आद्यन्तावन्न स्तः तयोर्भावे षष्ठ्यपि भवतीति । How to avoid this difficulty? Kaiyata says on this point :— गापोष्टक्, ब्रीहिशाल्योर्ढक् इत्यादावपि आनन्तर्यसम्बन्धे षष्ठी । न त्ववयवावयविसम्बन्धे । प्रत्ययपरत्वेन प्रतियोगं सन्निहितेनाकांक्षाविच्छेदादनर्थित्वादस्य अनुपस्थानात् । Here Kaiyata says that the sutra परश्च satisfies our आकांक्षा with regard to the place of the affixes षक् and

ढक and so, there being no आकाक्षा about the place of the terminations, the sutra आयन्तौ टकितौ does not apply. But here Kaiyata contradicts the Bhasya in as much as it has been established in the Bhasya, that S आयन्तौ टकितौ, like S मिद चोन्त्यात् परः, is an exception to the rule परश्च. Another explanation is given by the Nyasa — नच गापोष्टगित्यादौ प्रकृतयः।ऽ वयवषष्ठ्या निर्दिष्टा. किं तर्हि सुपा सुपो भवन्तीति पञ्चम्यर्थे या षष्ठी तथेति. This explanation does not as Kaiyata's does, go against what has been said in the Bhasya. A reference to III n. 6, 7, 8, and 9 will show that the genitive in गापोष्टक् is really anomalous. S. त्रे दशः and S. सभि ह्य, the two sutras preceding S. गापोष्टक्, and S. हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच्, the sutra that follows S. गापोष्टक्, all of them put the *prakritis* or stems in the ablative case. And in S. त्रे दशः, the two roots have been given a singular ending to avoid the awkward and unwieldy form of the ablative dual- दशाम्याम्. Then why should Panini bethink himself of using the genitive in S. गापोष्टक् on the strength of the rule सुपा सुपो भवन्ति, which does not occur in the Astd, and which we may say was unknown to him?

Thus the difficulty about the use of the genitive in the two sutras remains to be explained.

Thus we see that the *Paribhasa* आयन्तौ टकितौ is not of universal application in the Astd. It does not hold good in the case of sutras like त्रीहिशात्योर्ढक् and गापोष्टक्.

III & IV

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । I i 66

Kasika :— तस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थनिर्देशे पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोत्तरस्य । इको यणचि दध्युदकम् मध्विदम् पचत्योदनम् निर्दिष्टग्रहणमानन्तर्यार्थम् अग्रिचिदत्रेति व्यवहितस्य मा भूत् ।

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य । I. i. 67.

Kasika : निर्दिष्टग्रहणमनुवर्तते । तस्मादिति पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देशः । उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य । तिङ्ङितिङ् ओदनं पचति । इह न भवति पचत्योदनमिति ॥

Let us take these sutras separately and consider them. S. 66. lays down that 'when a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sutras, the operation directed is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes. Thus in the sutra "इको यणचि" (VI i. 77), the word 'अचि' is put in the locative case, and therefore the sutra means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए, followed by a vowel (अचि) are changed into , वृ, रृ, लृ, (यृ); the literal translation of the sutra being — "Of इक् there is यण् in .". The force of 'in' or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus दधि + उदकम् = दध्युदकम्; so also मध्विदम्, पचत्योदनम्.

Now let us see whether this *paribhasa* is of universal application in the Aṣṭa. Many cases will occur to the reader in which this *paribhasa* is not observed; of them ऋद्धनोः स्ये (VII, ii. 70.) is one. Let us consider it.

ऋद्धनोः स्ये VII. ii. 70.

Kasika ; ऋकारान्तानां धातूनां हन्तेश्च स्ये इडागमो भवति । करिष्यति । हनिष्यति स्वरतेर्वेट्त्वादृद्धनो स्य इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । स्वरिष्यति । तपरकरण विस्पष्टार्थम् ।

Now, according to this strict interpretation of the sūtra, what form do we get, of हन् स्य तिप् ? Here the root हन् is followed by स्य, which is exhibited in the locative case in the sūtra “ ऋद्धनोः स्ये ” According to the *paribhasa* “ तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ”, the कार्य or the operation enjoined by this sūtra viz ‘the इडागम,’ is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes the स्य, viz the roots ending in ऋ and the root हन्. And so the root हन् in this case, and not the *pratyaya* स्य, has इत् as an आगम. And this आगम comes at the beginning of the root हन् according to the *paribhasa*, ‘आद्यन्तौ टकितौ’. Therefore we have हन् स्य तिप् इत् हन् स्य तिप् – इहंस्यति, which is absurd. To avoid this difficulty the Siddhanta Kaumudi paraphrases the sūtra as follows — ऋतो हन्तेश्च स्यस्य इत् स्यात् ; and the Balamānorama comments:— ऋत हन् अनयोद्वेन्द्रात्पञ्चम्यर्थे षष्ठी स्ये इति षष्ठ्यर्थे सप्तमी. Thus the use of the locative in ‘स्ये’ is wrong. The word स्ये must be changed to स्यस्य and the word “ ऋद्धनोः ” to “ ऋद्धभ्यां ” to give us the correct form हनिष्यति. Thus we see the sūtra ऋद्धनोः स्ये is an exception to the *paribhasa*—तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य

This exception needs explanation. The traditional explanation is that छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति, and that in the Chandas सुपां सुपो भवन्ति, and that here there is a पञ्चम्यर्थे षष्ठी. But

can we apply the analogy of the Chandas to the sūtras of the Aṣṭa ? The Chandas is not the work of one man or one age. The diversity in the use of cases in the Chandas is attributable to that cause. But how to apply the analogy of the Chandas to the Aṣṭa which is supposed to be the work of one single author, namely Pāṇini ?

Let us now proceed to the next *paribhāṣa* तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य. It lays down :—‘ When a sūtra enjoins some operation and in that sūtra a term is exhibited in the ablative case, the operation enjoined is to be understood as affecting the state of what follows immediately after the thing denoted by the word in the ablative case.

Let us for example consider the sūtra उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य (VIII. iv. 61.) This sūtra consists of three words, viz उदः, स्थास्तम्भो and पूर्वस्य. It teaches the substitution of a पूर्वसवर्ण letter. Now in whose place is the substitution of the पूर्वसवर्ण letter to be made ? We get the answer to this question from the text of the sūtra itself, when we interpret it according to the *paribhāṣa*—‘ तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य. ’ In the sūtra उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य, the word उदः is put in the ablative case. Therefore the operation enjoined by the sūtra must affect the state of what follows immediately after उदः; that is, it must affect the words स्था and स्तम्भ. So the substitution of the पूर्वसवर्ण letter is to be made in the place of the first letter (स) of the words स्था and स्तम्भ (आदे परस्य. I. i. 54). Thus उदः + स्थानम् = उत्थानम्.

Let us see whether this *paribhāṣa* has any exceptions. If we turn to S. VI. 1. 75, we shall find one. The sūtra reads—‘ दीर्घात् ’. The words छे and लुक् are induced (अनुवृत्त)

from SS. VI. 1. 73 and 71 respectively. 'तुक्' is an āgama and comes at the end and forms the end-part, of the word to which it is added. Now 'दीर्घात्' is a word in the ablative and so the paribhāṣa, तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य, applies. And what is the 'उत्तर' of 'दीर्घ' in the case of this sūtra? It is the letter छ. And strictly speaking the तुक् will be an āgama of छ, and so we get, not म्लेच्छति, which is correct but म्लेछति, which is impossible. Kalyāṇa tries to escape from this difficulty thus :— दीर्घाच्छे तुग् भवतीत्यत्र (1) पञ्चीस्थाने व्यत्ययेन पञ्चमीति व्याख्यानात् (2) सुराच्छाये-त्यादेर्वा ज्ञापकाद् दीर्घस्यैव तुग्भवति न तु च्छस्य । * But this explanation does not explain why the sūtra reads दीर्घात्, giving rise to so much difficulty and not दीर्घस्य, which would not have contravened the paribhāṣa तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य, and so would have raised no difficulty. And this anomalous use of the ablative becomes the more glaring, when we compare the genitive in SS. ऋस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् (VI. 1. 71) and आङ्माडोश्च (VI. 1. 74).

Thus we see that the sūtra दीर्घात् (VI. 1. 75.) is an exception to the paribhāṣa तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य.

“पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेण अव्यवहितस्य परस्य ज्ञेयम् ।” Siddhanta Kaumudī. It is interesting to note that the whole of the chapter dealing with verbal accents is an exception to the paribhāṣa as interpreted above.

‘अत्र प्रकरणे (तिङन्तस्वरप्रकरणे) पञ्चमीनिर्देशोऽपि नानन्तर्यमाश्रीयते॥’†

V

स्वरितेनाधिकारः । I. iii 11.

Kaṣika:— स्वरितनेति इत्थंभूतलक्षणे तृतीया । स्वरितो नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्मः । तेन चिह्नेनाधिकारो वेदितव्यः । स्वरितगुणयुक्तं शब्दरूपमधिकृतत्वा-

* Kalyāṇa at the end of his comment on तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य. I. 1. 67.

† Siddhanta Kaumudī on S. पूजानात्पूजितमनुदात्तं काष्ठादिभ्यः VIII. i. 67.

दुत्तरत्रोपतिष्ठते । प्रतिज्ञास्वरिताः पाणिनीयाः प्रत्ययः । धातोः । ड्याप्प्राति-
पदिकात् । अङ्गस्य । भस्य । पदस्य ।

'When in this collection of sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent it denotes that it is the beginning of a topic or subject, and the word marked with the svarita accent presents itself that s, is to be understood, in the subsequent sūtras' But there occur strangely enough some cases where a word in a subsequent sūtra presents itself in a previous sūtra. For example—

ईशः से VII. ii. 77.

ईडजनोध्वे च ॥ VII. i 78.

Siddhanta Kaumudī.— ईशीङ्जनं सध्वेशब्दयोः सार्वधातुकयोरिदं स्यात् योगविभागो वैचित्र्यार्थः ॥

Lattwabodhini.— यथाश्रुतसूत्रन्यासे ईशो ध्वेशब्दे परे ईशिध्वमिति न सिद्धयेदत आह—ईशीङ्जनमिति । वैचित्र्यार्थ इति । ध्वे इत्यस्य पूर्वत्रापकर्षः से इत्यस्योत्तरत्रातुवृत्तिरित्येवं विचित्रबोधार्थः ।

Now let us turn to the Bhasya and see what Katyanayana and Patanjali have to say about this sūtra स्वरितेनाधिकारः.

भाष्यम् :— किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? ।

वार्तिकम् : अधिकारः प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थः ।

भाष्यम् :— अधिकारः कियते प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थ इति ॥ किमिदं प्रतियोगमिति ? । योगं योगं प्रति प्रतियोगम् । योगे योगे तस्य ग्रहणं मा कार्षे-
मिति ॥ किं गतमेतदियता सूत्रेण ? । गतमित्याह कुतः ? लोकतः ॥ तद्यथा लोके “अधिकृतोऽसौ ग्रामे” “अधिकृतोऽसौ नगरे” इत्युच्यते यो यत्र व्यापारं गच्छति शब्देन चाप्यधिकृतेन कोऽन्यो व्यापारः शक्योऽवगन्तुमन्यदतो योगे योग उपस्थानात्

वार्तिकम् : न वा निर्दिश्यमानाधिकृतत्वाद्यथा लोके ।

भाष्यम् : न वा एतत्प्रयोजनमस्ति । किं कारणम् ? । निर्दिश्यमानाधि-
कृतत्वात् यथा लोके । निर्दिश्यमानमाधिकृतं गम्यते । तद्यथा—‘देवदत्ताय गौर्दीय-

ताम्' 'यज्ञदत्ताय' 'विष्णुमित्राय' इति गौरिति गम्यते एवमिहापि "पदरुज-
विशस्पृशो घञ्" "सु स्थिरे" "भावे" घञिति गम्यते

वार्तिकम् :— अन्यनिर्देशस्तु निवर्तकस्तस्मात्परिभाषा ।

भाष्यम् :— अन्यनिर्देशस्तु लोके निवर्तको भवति तद्यथा 'देवदत्ताय
गौर्दीयताम्' 'विष्णुमित्राय कम्बलः' इति कम्बलो गोर्निवर्तको भवति । एवमिहापि
"अभिविधौ भाव इनुण्" घञो निवर्तकः स्यात् तस्मात्परिभाषा कर्तव्या ॥

वार्तिकम् :— अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु

भाष्यम् :— अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु भवति न ज्ञायते कियन्तमवाधि-
मधिकारोऽनुवर्तत इति ॥

वार्तिकम् :— अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानार्थं तु

भाष्यम् :— अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानार्थं एव तर्हि अयं योगो वक्तव्यः ।
अधिकारपरिमाणं ज्ञास्यामीति कथं पुनः "स्वरितेनाधिकारः" इत्यनेनाधिकार-
परिमाणं शक्यं विज्ञातुम् ? । एवं वक्ष्यामि— "स्वरिते नाधिकारः" इति । स्वरितं
दृष्ट्वाधिकारो न भवतीति ॥ केनेदानीमधिकारो भविष्यति ? लौकिकोऽधिकारः ।

वार्तिकम् :— नाधिकार इति चेदुक्तम् ।

भाष्यम् :— किमुक्तम् ? । "अन्यनिर्देशस्तु निवर्तकस्तस्मात् परिभाषा"
इति । अधिकारार्थमेव तर्ह्ययं योगो वक्तव्यः ननु चोक्तं "अधिकारपरिमाणा-
ज्ञानं तु" इति ? ।

वार्तिकम् :— यावत्तिथोऽलनुबन्धस्तावतो योगानिति वचनात्सिद्धम् ।

भाष्यम् :— यावत्तिथोऽलनुबध्यते तावतो योगानधिकारोऽनुवर्तत इति वक्त-
व्यम् ॥ अथेदानीं यत्राल्पीयांसोऽलः, भूयसश्च योगानधिकारोऽनुवर्तते, कथं तत्र
कर्तव्यम् ?

वार्तिकम् :— भूयासि प्राग्वचनम् ॥

With this Vārtika Katyayana has finished his discussion
of this sūtra. Let us briefly state the conclusions he has
arrived at :—

(1) The svarita' marks the governing word. So a svarita
stands at the commencement of a domain.

(2) The serial number (प्रत्याहारक्रमेण. Uddṛyotā) of the letter which is used as the *anubandha* of the governing word indicates the number of sūtras which the word governs.

(3) In case the number of sūtras which are to be governed by a word exceeds the serial number of any letter in the governing word, then the use of the word 'प्राग्' is made and when not made already in the sūtra, ought to be made. (cf. Bhasya:— भूयसि प्राग्वचनं कर्तव्यम् । प्रागसुत इति वक्तव्यम् ।)

Now let us see how far the last of the rules is observed in the Aśtd. We come across sūtras like 'प्राग्वत्तेष्टक' 'प्रागिवात्कः' 'प्राग्धित्तवित्' etc. where the author of the sūtras indicates the extent of the domain of the various affixes by the use of the word 'प्राक्'. But in sūtras like 'अंगस्य' (VI. iv. 1) the use of 'प्राक्', though quite necessary to indicate the extent of the Adhikāra is not made. Therefore Kātyāyana tells us that, where the use of the word 'prāk' though necessary, is not made we ought to insert it into the text of the sūtra. (cf. Bhasya:— भूयसि प्राग्वचनं कर्तव्यम् प्रागसुत इति वक्तव्यम्.) Thus Kātyāyana noted that there was no uniformity in the Aśtd with regard to the use of the word 'prāk' to indicate the extent of the domain; and he proposed to insert the word 'prāk', whenever necessary, into the text of the sūtra.

In this connect on the following observations of a Naiyāyika quoted in the Nyāsa are interesting:—

“नैयायिक इत्याह:—कचिदर्थोऽवधित्वेन गृह्यते यथा—आर्हाद् भवनादिति । कचित्प्रत्ययः 'प्राग्वत्तेः' 'आचत्वात्' इति कचित्प्रकृतिः 'आकङ्कारात्' इति । कचिदेकदेशः 'प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्' इति । कचिन्निर्वाधिः प्रत्ययः 'ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकाद्' इति । तेनायमात्मनो वैचित्र्यमाचार्यो दर्शयतीत्यवसीयते ”. Nyāsa. V i. 1.

Thus the Nā'yāyika comes to the conclusion that the Acārya exhibits his vaicitrya or whims'cality.*

Is the absence of uniformity in the use of the word प्राक्, in the sutras, to indicate the extent of an अधिकार or domain due to the वैचित्र्य of the author of the Astā., or is it due to the conditions under which he worked?

We have seen above that Kātyāyana proposes to add words to the effect 'प्रागमुतः', wherever necessary, to the existing text of sutras, and to this extent he proposes to meddle with the text of the sutras. This, Patanjali does not relish, and so he tries to defend the existence of the sutra स्वरितेनाधिकारः on other grounds, which are summarised at the end of his Bhasya on the sutra in the following gāthā.—

अधिकारगतिस्त्वर्था विशेषायाधिकं कार्यम् ।

अथ योन्योधिकः कारः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधार्थः सः ॥

These प्रयोजनस of the sutra should be rejected mainly on two grounds. First they have no support from tradition; otherwise Kātyāyana would have known them and dealt with them in his Vārtika, and they seem to have been unknown to Vārtikakāras other than Kātyāyana also otherwise Patanjali would have quoted them, as he quotes the Saunāgas etc. Secondly, in order to have the प्रयोजनस mentioned in the gāthā Patanjali proposes to imagine 'svarita' where it did not exist in the text of the Astā as given to him by tradition. Thus on the first of the three प्रयोजनस he writes:—

“अधिकारगतिः— गोत्रियोरुपसर्जनस्येत्यत्र गोटाङ्ग्रहणम् चोदितम् । तन्न कर्तव्यं भवति । त्रीग्रहणम् स्वरयिष्यते ।” Note is futura used in

* As to who this Nā'yāyika is, compare—

“वैजिसौभवहर्षक्षैः शुष्कतर्कादुत्सारिभिः ।

आर्थे विद्वाविते ग्रंथे संप्रहप्रतिकंचुके ॥ Vākyapādīya II. 487.

‘स्वरयिष्यते’. It shows that the ‘स्त्रीग्रहण’ had no svarita in the text of the Aśtd. as given by tradition to Patanjali. Similarly he further on says — “अधिकः कारः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधाश्च न पठितव्या भवन्ति—‘गुणवृद्धयौस्त्वृज्वावेभ्यो लुं पूर्वविप्रतिषिद्धम्’ ‘लुमचिरवृज्वावेभ्यो लुद्’ इति लुम्नुटौ स्वरयिष्येते । तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकः कारो भविष्यतीति लुम्नुटौ भविष्यतः ” Note again the word ‘स्वरयिष्येते’. The remarks made above on ‘स्वरयिष्यते’ apply here also. Moreover Patanjali seems himself to have been dissatisfied with this explanation of the Pūrvavipratishedhas. For further on under S. ‘विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्’, where this topic of Vipratishedha has been principally dealt with he defends Pūrvavipratishedhas on other grounds by taking the word ‘पर’ in S. ‘विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्’ to mean ‘इष्ट’ (see p. 36).

We shall consider one more Paribhāṣā viz. ‘यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानाम्’, and shall finish with this chapter dealing with the Paribhāṣās.

VI

यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् I iii 10

Kaśīka संख्याशब्देन क्रमो लक्ष्यते यथासंख्यं यथाक्रममनुदेशो भवति अनुदेश्यत इत्यनुदेशः । पश्चादुच्चार्येत इत्यर्थः समाना समसंख्यानां समपरिपठितानामनुदेशिनामनुदेशिना च यथाक्रममनुदेशिभिरनुदेशिनः संबध्यन्ते तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराङ्गदक्छण्डव्यकः । प्रथमात्प्रथमो द्वितीयाद्द्वितीय इत्यादि । तौदेयः । शालातुरीयः वार्मतेयः कौचवार्थः समानामिति किम् । लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यन्तः । लक्षणादयश्चत्वारोऽर्थाः प्रत्यादयश्चयः सर्वेषां सर्वत्र कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवति । इह कस्मान् न भवति—“वैशौयशादेर्भगावल्खच” इति । स्वरितेन लिङ्गेन यथासंख्यम् यत्र नेष्यते तत्र स्वरितत्वं न प्रतिज्ञायते । स्वरितेनाधिकारः (I. iii, 11.) इति स्वरितग्रहणं पूर्वेणापि संबध्यते ।

When a rule involves the case of an equal number of karyas and kāryas then mutual correspondence or assignment each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

It is laid down in III. 1. 31. (नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः) that the affixes 'ल्यु', 'णिनि' and 'अच्' are added to the 'नन्दि', the 'ग्रहि', and the 'पच्' classes of words. Now the question arises whether each of the three classes of words takes all the three affixes or two only or one only. And further if each class takes only two affixes or only one, then which one or two of the three does it take? Now here there is 'अनियम'. The paribhāṣā "यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानाम्" comes in and tells us exactly how to add the affixes. The affix ल्यु is to be added to the words of the 'नन्दि' class 'णिनि' to the words of the 'ग्रहि' class and अच् to the words of the 'पच्' class. The addition must be respectively according to the order of enumeration of the prakṛtis and the 'pratyayas' in the sūtra and not as one pleases.

Even this very simple paribhāṣā is not without exceptions. One exception is pointed out by the Kaṣikā (I. 11. 10.) in the sentence: 'इह कस्मान्न भवति "वेशोयशआदेर्भगायल्ल च" इति'. However, the reading of the sūtra in the Bhāṣya and the Siddhānta Kaumudī is वेशोयशआदेर्भगायल्लौ (IV iv 131). On this sūtra the Siddhānta Kaumudī remarks: यथासंख्यं नेष्यते. The sūtra कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृजोः (III 11. 127) is another exception. The Siddhānta Kaumudī again remarks: - यथासंख्यं नेष्यते ।

The Bhāṣya on this sūtra falls into three main parts, as divided by the editor of the Nūṇayasāgara edition. First we have the 'उदाहरणाधिकरण' where the question as to what are the right illustrations of the application of the sūtra is settled. Secondly we have the 'सूत्रप्रयोजनाधिकरण', which explains the *raison d'être* of the sūtra. Thirdly, and this is the most important part of the Bhāṣya we have the 'संख्यातानुदेशविषयनिर्णयाधिकरण', which considers the field for the operation of the 'Yathāsankhya-paribhāṣā'. We are here

concerned only with this third 'adhikarāṇa'. In this adhikarāṇa two possibilities are considered; first 'Yathāśankhya' when there is 'शब्दतः साम्य' or equality in the number of words; and secondly, 'Yathāśankhya' when there is 'अर्थतः साम्य', or equality of the number things denoted by the words. It is shown that whichever of the two alternatives we adopt for the sūtra there will remain some exceptions to its application. Some of these exceptions to the 'śabdātah sāmya' pakṣa are removed by taking the 'saṁānayaogavācana' to apply only to those cases where there is 'saṁānayaogavācana' i. e. where both the kāryas and the kāryins are to be found mentioned in one and the same sūtra. (cf. Vārtika:— "न वा सामानयोगवचनात्"). But even if we accept this 'Śabdātah sāmya pakṣa' with the qualification of the 'saṁānayaogavācana', there still remain some cases to which the 'Yathāśankhya' rule does not apply. Thus there are exceptions if we adopt the 'arthātah sāmya' alternative and there are exceptions if we adopt the 'śabdātah sāmya' alternative, with the qualification of the 'saṁānayaogavācana'. Both these pakṣas or alternatives and the difficulties in the way of accepting either of them are pointed out by Kātyāyana and he leaves the matter there. And the Bhāṣyakāra rightly sums up the position of Kātyāyana in the words—तस्माद्यस्मिन् पक्षेल्पीयांसी दोषास्तमास्थाय प्रतिविधेयं दोषेषु ।

But Patanjali was unwilling to leave the matter at this stage. So he goes on to say:—

अथैवं वक्ष्यामि "यथासंख्यमनुदेश समाना स्वरितेन" ततः "अधिकारः" अधिकारश्च भवति स्वरितेनेति । एवमपि स्वरितं दृष्ट्वा संदेहः स्यात्—न ज्ञायते—किमयं समसंख्यार्थ आहोस्विदधिकारार्थ इति ॥ सन्देहमात्रमेतद्व्यवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चैदमुपतिष्ठते 'व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम्' इति । समसंख्यार्थ इति व्याख्यास्यामः ॥

The weakness of this explanation of Patanjali's is quite evident. The fact that Kātyāyana or any other Vārtikākāra did not know of it shows that it is not supported by tradition or paramparā. The weakest point in his explanation is pointed out by Patanjali himself saying—एवमपि स्वरितं दृष्ट्वा सन्देहः स्यात् etc. To get out of this difficulty he falls back on vyākhyāna.

A paribhāṣā is defined as 'अनियमे नियमकारिणी'. Then, if by a svarita Pāṇini taught us that we should know that an adhikāra begins (I. iii. 11) and also that in some cases there is the application of the 'Yathāśankhya' rule then of what use would the svarita be? So Patanjali's explanation is unacceptable.

Thus it will be seen that whatever the interpretation we adopt for the 'Yathāśankhya' rule it has still some exceptions. The 'Yathāśankhya' rule is not of universal application in the Aṣṭd. And this is a fact which demands an explanation.

We have now finished with the sutras relating to the Paribhāṣās. We have seen that in the Aṣṭd. there is not a single important Paribhāṣa that has not important exceptions. What is this due to?

CHAPTER IV

THE SANJNĀS IN THE ASTD.

Having dealt with some of the most important Paribhāṣasūtras, we shall now turn to the Sanjñāsūtras and see how far the Astd. is uniform in its use of the sanjñās or technical terms.

1. अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः । I. ii. 41.

This sūtra tells us that an affix consisting of a single letter is called अपृक्त'. In this sūtra it is to be noted the word अपृक्त is masculine in gender. But in sūtra हल्ङ्याभ्यो दीर्घास्त्वितिस्यपृक्तं हल् (VI. i. 68) the word अपृक्त is neuter. It should not be deemed that the difference between the two sūtras as regards the gender of 'अपृक्त' is of little importance. Some words seem to have been common to the various schools of grammar at the time of Panini sometimes exhibiting a difference only in gender. Thus the word सार्वधातुक is used as a neuter noun in the Astd. of. तिङ्शित् सार्वधातुकम् । (III. iv. 113). But with the Āpis'alas it was feminine in gender; of तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुकास्तु च्छन्दसि, quoted in Kasika VII. iii. 95. as an Āpis'ala sūtra. It is interesting to note that in the Rkprātis'ākhya 1. 2 the word अपृक्त is read as a neuter noun; of अपृक्तमेकाक्षरमद्वियोनि यत् ।

2. In S. I. iv. 3., गुरूत्याख्यौ नदी, it is laid down that "नदी" is the technical term for feminine nouns ending in ई or ऊ. But in S. II. i. 20 (नदीभिश्च) and S. V. iv. 110 (नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायगीभ्यः) and in many other sūtras the word नदी is used in its common dictionary sense of a river.

3. कर्तुर्गोपिततम कर्म I. iv. 49. The word 'कर्मन्' is used in this sense in S. I. iv. 32. (कर्मणा यमाभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् ।) etc. But in S. I. iii. 14. the word कर्मन् is used in the sense of क्रिया.

कर्तारि कर्मव्यतिहारे I. iii. 14.

वार्तिकम्:— क्रियाव्यतिहार ॥

भाष्यम्:— क्रियाव्यतिहार इति वक्तव्यम् । कर्मव्यतिहार इत्युच्यमाने इहापि प्रसज्येत-देवदत्तस्य धान्यं व्यतिलुनन्तीति । इह च न स्यात्-व्यतिलुनते, व्यतिपुनत इति ॥

Kātyāyana rightly lays down that a particular exclusive meaning having been attached to the word कर्मन् by S. I. iv. 49. the use of the word कर्मन् in this sutra is misleading and that the word क्रिया should be substituted for the word कर्मन् in the sutra. It is true that Patanjali tries to defend the use of the word कर्मन् in the sutra; but Patanjali's long and elaborate argument itself in defence of the use of the word is its condemnation and shows clearly that the use of the word कर्मन् in S. I. iii. 14. is misleading.

4. करण is defined as-साधकतमं करणम् I. iv. 42 But this definition does not apply to the word करण in S. III. i. 17. (शब्दैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेधेभ्यः करणे), where 'करण' means 'क्रिया'.

5. एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः II. iii. 49.

Kasika:— आमन्त्रितप्रथमाया यदेकवचनं तत्सम्बुद्धिसंज्ञं भवति ।

But this definition does not apply to the word सम्बुद्धि in:—
एकश्रुति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ ॥ I. ii. 33.

Kasika.— दूरात्सम्बोधयति येन वाक्येन तत्संबोधनं संबुद्धिः । नैकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः ॥

Nyasa.— संबोधनं सम्बुद्धिरित्यादिना सम्बुद्धिरित्यन्वर्थग्रहणम् । न पारिभाषिकं सम्बुद्धियहणमिति दर्शयति ॥

6. आधारोधिकरणम् । I. iv. 45.

Kasika:— आध्रियन्तेस्मिन्क्रिया इत्याधारः । कर्तृकर्मणोः क्रियाभय-भूतयोः धारणक्रियां प्रति य आधारस्तत्कारकं अधिकरणसंज्ञं भवति ॥

Siddhanta Kaumudī कर्तृकर्मद्वारा तन्निष्ठक्रियाया. आधार. कारक-
मधिकरणसंज्ञं भवति ॥

But this definition does not apply to the word अधिकरण in sutras like अधिकरणैतावत्त्वे च (II. iv. 15) where the word अधिकरण means वर्तिपदार्थ (v de Kāśika on the sutra); and in sutras like पूर्वपराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे (II. ii. 1), अधिकरण-विचाले च (IV. iii. 43.) and विप्रतिपिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि (II. iv. 13.), where the word अधिकरण means द्रव्य or substance. It is true that the commentators try to bring out all these various senses from the word 'आधार' which is the definition of 'अधिकरण' given in S I. iv 45. But we must remember that the definition occurs in the domain of 'कारके' I. iv 23 and the Kāś'ikā and the Kaumudī rightly point out that the word 'आधार' refers only to the कारकाधार.

(इत्संज्ञासूत्रम्)

7 चुट्ट । I. ii. 7.

Kāśika — चवर्गद्वगौ प्रत्ययस्यादी इत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् :— चुञ्चुप्चणपोश्चकारप्रतिषेधः ।

भाष्यम् : चुञ्चुप्चणपोश्चकारस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । केशचुञ्चुः । केश-
चणः ॥

वार्तिकम् :— इदर्याभावात् सिद्धम् ।

भाष्यम् :— इत्कार्याभावादनेत्संज्ञा न भविष्यति । इदमस्तीत्कार्यम् चितः
अन्त उदात्तो भवतीति अन्तोदात्तत्वं यथा स्यत्

पित्करणमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् ।

वार्तिकम् :— पित्करणं किमर्थमिति चेत्पर्यायार्थम् ।

भाष्यम् :— पित्करणं किमर्थमिति चेत्पर्यायार्थमेतत्स्यात् ।

एवं तर्हि यकारादी चुञ्चुप्चणपौ । किं यकारो न श्रूयते लुप्तनिर्दिष्टो

यकारः ॥

Patanjali's explanation of why the 'च्' is not to be regarded as इत् or indicative in the two *pratyayas* चुञ्चुप् and चणप्, is very unsatisfactory.

8. वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् ॥ I. i. 73.

But this definition does not apply to the word वृद्ध in:—

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् । IV. i. 166.

Kasika:—अपत्यमन्तर्हितं वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणात् गोत्रं वृद्ध-
मित्युच्यते ।

In his Bhāṣya on S. I. ii. 68, Patanjali informs us that
“पूर्वसूत्रे गोत्रस्य वृद्धमिति संज्ञा क्रियते ”

(9) प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् । I. ii. 43. *Siddhānta*
Kaumudī:— समासशब्दे प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं उपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ।

But this word उपसर्जन is in S. IV. i. 14 (अनुपसर्जनात्),
used in the simple non technical sense of 'apradhāna' or 'not
principal' In this connection the following passage from the
Bhāṣya on S. IV. i. 14 (अनुपसर्जनात्) is very interesting —

वार्तिकम्:— पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वायमापिशलमधीत इति ।

भाष्यम्:— पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशो वा पुनरयं द्रष्टव्यः । पूर्वसूत्रे अप्रधानस्योपसर्जन-
मिति संज्ञा क्रियते । यावद्ब्रूयात् प्रधानादुत्पत्तव्यमप्रधानाच्चेति तावदनुपसर्जना-
दिति । किं प्रयोजनम् आपिशलमधीते ब्राह्मणी । अणन्तादीकारो मा भूदिति ॥

We have the authority of Panini himself for the asser-
tion that the word उपसर्जन was used in the works of पूर्वाचार्ये
in the sense of 'अप्रधान' or 'not principal' —

कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् । I. ii. 57.

Kasika: अशिष्यमिति वर्तते । कालोपसर्जने चाशिष्ये । कस्मात् ।
अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् । इहान्ये वैयाकरणाः कालोपसर्जनयोः परिभाषां कुर्वन्ति ।
.....तथोपसर्जनपरिभाषां कुर्वन्ति अप्रधानमुपसर्जनमिति । तत्पाणि-
निराचार्यः प्रत्याचष्टे ॥

Conclusion:— The Ast. is not un from in its use of
technical terms.

CHAPTER V

THE USE OF CASES AND OF SYNONYMS, THE NIPĀTANAS AND THE METRICAL SŪTRAS IN THE AṢṬD

1. *The use of cases:*— Let us consider the following sūtras from Pāda 1, Adhyāya VII.

निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले 89.

Kasika निनदीत्येताभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्नातिसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति कौशले गम्यमाने निष्णातः कटकरण ।

सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम् 90

Kasika प्रतिष्णातमिति निपात्यते सूत्रं चेद्वति । प्रतिष्णातं सूत्रम् शुद्धमित्यर्थः प्रतिस्नातमित्येवान्यत्र ॥

कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे 91

Kasika — कपिष्ठल इति निपात्यते गोत्रविषये ।

प्रष्टोमगामिनि 92.

Kasika — प्रष्ट इति निपात्यते अष्टगामिन्यभिधेये ।

वृक्षासनयोविष्टरः । 93

Kasika — विष्टर इति निपात्यते वृक्षे आसने च वाच्ये ।

छन्दीनाञ्चि च । 94.

Kasika — विष्टर इति निपात्यते ।

गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः । 95.

Kasika — गवियुधिभ्यामुत्तरस्य स्थिरसकारस्य मूर्धन्यादेशो भवति । गविष्ठिरः युधिष्ठिरः ।

In the first sūtra, the root स्ना which is the कार्थिन् and the सू of which is to be changed to पू is put in the genitive case, but in the last sūtra, the word स्थिरः which is the कार्थिन्

and the स् of which is to be changed to ष् is put in the nominative case; why is there this discrepancy in the use of cases, of which the above is only an instance so very prevalent in the Aśtd.?

2 *The Nipatanas*:— Sūtras 90 to 95 (both *nolus* *ve*) are निपातनः. Why are these sūtras put in the form of निपातनः? Could Panini not have written :—

प्रतेः स्नातस्य सूत्रे ।
कपेः स्थलस्य गोत्रे ।
प्रास्थोऽग्रगामिनि
वेः स्तरस्य दृक्षासनयोः ।

on the analogy of “निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले” ? Why should निपातनः intervene between rules expressed in the regular analytic form? And even among the निपातन sūtras there is no uniformity. In S. 90 the word सूत्र which is the वाच्य of the word प्रतिष्ठात is put in the nominative case. But in sūtra 95 the words दृक्ष and आसन which are the वाच्य of the word विहर are put in the locative case. How to account for all this irregularity?

3 *Metrical Sūtras*:— Some sūtras in the Aśtd, taken singly or together with a preceding or following sūtra or sūtras seem to fall into metre. For example — S. दृद्धिरदैच् I. i. 1. and S. अदेङ्गुणः I. i. 2. read together make ‘दृद्धिरदैजदेङ्गुणः’ which is a quarter of an अनुष्टुप् verse.

S. दिवो यावा VI. iii. 29. and S. दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् VI. iii. 30. read together make “दिवो यावा दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् ।” which is the fourth line of a verse, the metre of which is that of the following verse from the *Īrprāṭis’ākhya* : —

संहिता पदप्रकृतिः पदान्तात्
पदादिभिः सन्दधेति यत्सा ।

कालाव्यवायेन स्वरान्तरं तु
विवृतिः सा वा स्वरभक्तिकाला ॥ II. 1

S. हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ । II ii 25 is a quarter of a verse in the वैतालीय metre.

A thorough search of the whole Aśtd. will give us many more instances of such metrical sutras. But let us consider the three instances given above more closely.

वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुणः । In this connection the following remarks of Patanjali on I. i. 1. are interesting :—

अथवा पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी परोच्चारिता संज्ञा । कुत एतत् । सतो हि कार्येणः कार्येण भवितव्यतम् । तद्यथा—इतरत्रापि सतो मांसपिण्डस्य देवदत्त इति संज्ञा क्रियते ॥ कथं वृद्धिरादैजिति । एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम् । सर्वत्रैव हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञी, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा 'अदेङ्गुण' इति यथा ॥

Thus Ś. I. i. 1 ought to have read आदैजवृद्धिः, instead of वृद्धिरादैच्. Is it possible, pace Patanjali, that the irregularity is caused by the exigencies of metre ?

दिवो व्यावा दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् । Why is the word दिवस used and not दिवस् which would have been more correct and easy for comprehension ? The Kāśikā (VI. iii. 30) says :— “ अकारोच्चारणं सकारस्य विकाराभावप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । ” But this end could have been achieved still better by reading the sutra as दिवस्पृथिव्याम्. Cf. Candra V ii. 27.

दिवस्पृथिव्यां वा ।

वृत्तिः— सकारनिर्देशो रुत्वाभावार्थः ।

So it seems, the word दिवस and not दिवस् is used to meet the exigencies of metre

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ

Kasika :— दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयो , हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

Thus 'दृति' and 'नाथ' are उपपदs. Now consider the following sutras

सुपि स्थः । III. ii. 4.

Kasika :— सुब्रन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ।

Here the upapada (सुपि) comes first and then follows the root (स्था) to which the pratyaya is to be added.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः III. ii. 5.

Kasika - तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धात्वोः कप्रत्ययो भवति ।

Here also the upapadas come first in the sutra and then the roots to which the pratyaya is to be added.

स्तम्बकर्णयो रमिजपोः । III. ii. 13

Here also the upapadas (स्तम्ब and कर्ण) come first and then follow the roots (रम् and जप्).

पुरोऽग्रतोऽग्रेषु सत्तेः । III. ii. 18.

The upapadas come first and then comes the root (सृ).

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ । III. ii. 25.

Here the root (हृ) comes first and then come the upapadas (दृति and नाथ).

नासिकास्तनयोधर्माधेदोः । III. ii. 29.

Here the upapadas (नासिका and स्तन) come first and then the roots (धर्मा and धेद).

Thus it will be seen that S 'हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ' is irregular in its arrangement of the upapada and the root. Is this irregularity caused by the exigencies of metre ?

4 *The synonyms in the Aśtd.* — In the Aśtd. the Vedic literature is referred to promiscuously with the words छन्दस, मन्त्र and निगम, and the notion of 'option' is expressed indiscriminately with the words च, उभयथा, अन्यतरस्याम्, विभाषा and बहुलम्. For 'substance' four words are used: द्रव्य (V. iv. 11) सत्त्व (I. iv. 57) अधिकरण (V. iii. 43) and बन्धु (V. iv. 9).[†]

† किमेतिद्रव्ययथादाम्बद्रव्यप्रकर्षे ॥ V. iv. 11.

चादयोऽसत्त्वे ॥ I. iv. 57.

Kaśika:— सत्त्वमिति द्रव्यमुच्यते ।

अधिकरणविचाले च ॥ V. iii. 43.

Kaśika:— अधिकरणं द्रव्यम् ।

जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि ॥ V. iv. 9.

Kaśika:— बन्धुशब्देन द्रव्यमुच्यते ।

CHAPTER VI

THE MANDŪKAPLUTI THE PARTICLE च AND THE YOGAVIBHĀGA

I

The Mandukaputr:— Let us consider the following three sutras from the first Pāda of the third Adhyaya.

सुप आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ 8 ॥

Kasika — इपिकर्मण णपितुरेवात्मसम्बन्धिनः सुबन्तादिच्छायामर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति

काम्यच्च ॥ 9 ॥

Kasika:— सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभाग उत्तरत्र क्यचोऽनुवृत्त्यर्थः ॥

उपमानादाचारे ॥ 10 ॥

Kasika — क्यजनुवर्तते न काम्यच् । उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

It will be noticed that in sutra 10 it is क्यच् that is anuvṛtta and not काम्यच्. 'क्यच्' occurs in sutra 8 and 'काम्यच्' in sutra 9. Therefore it is काम्यच् that ought to have been anuvṛtta in sutra 10, and not क्यच्. How to account for this anomaly? The Kāś'ikā answers thus: योगविभाग उत्तरत्र क्यचोऽनुवृत्त्यर्थः । The Nyāsa explaining this says ननु द्वावप्येतौ क्यच्काम्यचौ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मेच्छायां विधीयेते । तदेकयोग एव कथं न कृतं इत्याह—योगविभाग इत्यादि सुप आत्मनः क्यच्काम्यच्चावित्येकयोगे सत्युत्तरत्र द्वयोरप्यनुवृत्तिः स्यात् । ननु च योगविभागेऽपि आनन्तर्यात् काम्यच्च एवानुवृत्तिः स्यात् । न तु क्यच्चः ॥ नैव दोषः । चकारोऽत्र क्रियते क्यचोऽनुकर्षणार्थः । तदनुकर्षणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् । उत्तरत्रानुवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात् । इह प्रयोजनाभावात् । काम्यजपि कस्मान्नानुवर्तत इति चेन्न । योगविभागसामर्थ्यात् ॥

The explanation of the anomalous anuvṛtti given by the Kāś'ikā as interpreted by the Nyāsa comes to this :

1. The योगविभाग between sutras 8 and 9 is there for the purpose of the anuvṛtti of one only of the two pratyayas क्यच् and काम्यच् in sutra 10.

2. By the च in sutra 9 'क्यच्' is inducted into it from sutra 8.

3. Because the induction of क्यच् in sutra 9 from sutra 8, serves no purpose (प्रयोजनाभावात्) in it (i. e. in sutra 9) therefore we must conclude its induction from sutra 8 into sutra 9 can have no other purpose than its being carried on into sutra 10. Thus:—

सुप आत्मनः क्यच्

काम्यच्च ॥ क्यच्.

उपमानादाचारे क्यच्, not काम्यच्.

If the first and the second propositions are correct, then the third proposition logically follows from them. Therefore we have first to consider propositions one and two, and of these we admit the correctness of proposition one. The crux of the problem lies in the second proposition, and we doubt its correctness.

A thing which we may note by the way in this connection is that according to the statement of the author of the Nyāsa, under S. I. 1. 69 (अनुदितवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः), a word which has been inducted by a 'च' from a preceding into a following sutra, cannot be further carried on to the next sutra. * But here the Nyāsa-kāṇva says that the word क्यच् though drawn into sutra 9 from sutra 8 by a 'च' should be carried on into sutra 10. In this connection it will be remembered there is a pari-

* चानुकृष्टत्वादुत्तरत्र तदनुवृत्तिर्न स्यात्. Nyāsa on S I 1 68, p 181

bhāṣā “चातुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र”. We shall deal with this par bhāṣā later on in full

Let us see what the true function of the word च in sutra 9 is by studying the following three sutras, which are exactly similar to the three under consideration

गस्थकन् III i. 146.

प्युट् च । III i. 147.

Kaṣika —चकारेण ग इत्यनुकृष्यते गायतेर्गुट् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्तरि । गायनः, गायनी योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः

It will be noted that according to the interpretation put by the *Kaṣika* and the *Nyāsa* on ‘च’ in ‘काम्यच् च’, the purpose of ‘च’ in this sutra (प्युट् च) also will have to be taken to be the induction of ‘थकन्’ and not of ‘गः’ as the *Kāṣikā* expressly declares.

हश्च ब्रीहिकालयोः । III. 1. 148.

Kaṣika — चकारेण प्युडनुकृष्यते ।

Here also on the analogy of the ‘काम्यच्’ triad of sutras, we would expect ‘थकन्’ to be inducted into this sutra and not प्युट्.

Now let us compare the anuvṛttis in the two triads we have just considered. We may put them briefly thus :—

I

सुप आत्मान. क्यच् ।

काम्यच् च । [+ क्यच् inducted by ‘च’]

उपमानादाचारे । [+ क्यच्, and not काम्यच्]

II

गस्थकन् ।

प्युट् च । [+ गः, inducted by ‘च’, and not थकन्]

इश्च व्रीहिकालयोः [+ ण्युद् and not थकन्]

Now let us see in which of the two triads the anuvittis are more natural and correct. A little consideration will make it clear that the anuvittis in the second triad are the more natural and so the correct ones. In the first sutra of the second triad v z. 'गस्थकन्', the prakṛti (गः) and the pratyaya (थकन्) are both given in the second only the pratyaya (ण्युद्) with the word 'च' added. Now what else can the function of 'च' in S. 'ण्युद् च' be but the anukarṣaṇa of the prakṛti which is necessary to complete the sense of the sutra (ण्युद् च)? Thus the first sutra tells us that the root 'गै' takes 'थकन्' as an affix denoting agent. The next sutra says—'ण्युद् च'. Here only the affix (ण्युद्) is given and so a prakṛti is needed to complete the sense. Therefore does the Kāś'ikā rightly say:— चकारेण ग इत्यनुकृष्यते In the next (third) sutra only the prakṛti (हः i. e. the root ह) is given and what is required to complete the sense of the sutra in this case is the pratyaya. Therefore does the Kāś'ikā on this sutra say:— चकारेण ण्युडनुकृष्यते

Thus it will be seen that by the word 'च' in a sutra, that part of a previous sutra which is needed to complete the sense of the subsequent sutra is inducted. So we may confidently say that the function of 'च' in sutra 'काम्यच् च' is to induct—not 'क्यच्' which is admittedly useless in the sutra (इह प्रयोजनाभावात्. Nyāsa)—but "सुप् आत्मनः", which is the prakṛti needed by the pratyaya 'काम्यच्', to complete the sense of the sutra.

The form of these triads of sutras can be symbolically represented. Let 's' stand for the prakṛti or stem and 't' for the pratyaya or the affix. Let the second pratyaya, which with 'च' forms the second sutra be called 't₁' and the second prak-

tti which occurs in the third sutra be called 's₁'. We can represent the form of the two triads of sutras we have just considered and of three other similar triads and their anuvittis thus:—

I

Sutras III i. 8 9 10

सुप आत्मनः (s) क्यच् (t)
काम्यच् (t₁) च [क्यच्]
उपमानाद् (s₁) आचारे [क्यच्]

st
t₁ (t)
s₁ (t)

As explained by the
Kasika and the Nyasa

II

Sutras III. i. 146 147, 148

ग (s) थक्न् (t)
ण्युद् (t₁) च [गः]
इश्च (s₁) व्रीहिकालयोः [ण्युद्]

st
(s) t₁
s₁ (t₁)

III

Sutras V. ii. 102 103 104.

तपस्सहस्राभ्यां (s) विनिमी (t)
अण् (t₁) च [तपःसहस्राभ्याम्]
शिकताशर्कराभ्यां (s₁) च [अण्]

st
(s) t₁
s₁ (t₁)

IV

Sutras IV. ii. 27 28 29.

अपोनष्टरपांनष्टृभ्यां (s) घः (t) ।
छ (t₁) च [अपोनष्टरपांनष्टृभ्याम्]
महेन्द्राद् (s₁) घाणौ (t₂) च [छ]

st
(s) t₁
s₁ t₂ (t₁)

V

Sutras IV. iv. 131 132, 133.

वैशोयशआदेर्भगाद् (s) यल् (t)

st

ख (t ₁) च [वंशयिषाभादेभगाद्]	(s) t ₁
पूर्वेः (s ₁ कृतम् इत्ययौ (t ₂) च [ख]	s ₁ t ₂ (t ₁)

It will at once be seen that the first of the above five triads differs in anuvṛtta, from the other four. And it has been shown above that the anuvṛttis in the second and subsequent triads, which are of the form of st (s) t₁ s₁ (t₁) are the natural and so the correct ones and not the anuvṛttis of the form of st t₁ (t) s₁ (t), as the Kāś'ikā and the Nyāsa on S. काम्यच् च, would have us believe.

Compare also the following three sutras from Adhyāya III, Pāda iii:—

नपुंसके भावे क्तः 114.

Kaśika:— नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे ध तोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति। हसितम् सहसितम्। जल्पितम्।

ल्युट् च। 115.

Kaśika:— नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति। हसनं छात्रस्य। शभिनम् जल्पनम् शयनम् आसनम्। योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः॥

Nyāsa — योगविभाग उत्तरार्थ इति। उत्तरत्र ल्युट् एवानुवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात्। क्तस्य मा भूत्।

कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् शरीरसुखम् ॥ 116

Kaśika:— येन कर्मणा संस्पृश्यमानस्य कर्तुं शरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे धातोर्नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे ल्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

In this triad of sutras also it is the affix ल्युट् occurring in the second sutra that is anuvṛtta in the third sutra and not 'क्त' occurring in the first sutra.

If we want the 'काम्यच्' triad to conform with the similar triads quoted above we have to rewrite it as follows:—

सुप आत्मनः (s) काम्यच् (t)	st
क्यच् (t ₁) च [सुप आत्मनः]	(s) t ₁
उपमानाद् (s ₁) आचारे [क्यच्]	s ₁ (t ₁)

It may be noted that this is the order adopted by Oandra in his Vyākaraṇa.

व्याप्यात् काम्यच् । I. i. 23.

st

संख्यादमः कयच्वा । I. i. 24.

(s) t₁

उपमानादाचारे । I. i. 25.

s₁ (t₁)

Now to what is this anomaly which could be remedied by simply re-arranging the sūtras due? Is it due to the later insertion of the sūtra 'काम्यच्' in between the two sūtras 'सुप आत्मनः कयच्' and 'उपमानादाचारे'?

Let us now take the three sūtras at the end of the first Pāda of the first Adhyaya and consider them.

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । 73.

त्यदादीनि च 74.

एङ् प्राचां देशे । 75.

The anuvṛttis in this triad can be shown thus.—

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । 73.

त्यदादीनि च ॥ वृद्धम् ॥ 74.

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ यस्याचामादिः वृद्धम् । 75.

It will at once be seen that the anuvṛtti of "यस्याचामादिः" from S. 73 into S. 75 is anomalous because it is not anuvṛtta in S. 74. It (यस्याचामादिः) takes a clean leap over S. 74 and comes into S. 75 directly from S. 73. This is anomalous. It was seen to be an anomaly by Patanjali and his explanation of it we give below :—

त्यदादीनि च ॥ 74.

भाष्यम्:— यस्याचामादिग्रहणमनुवर्तते उताहो न ? किं चातः ? यद्यनुवर्तते इह च प्रसज्येत—त्वत्पुत्रस्य छात्राः त्वात्पुत्राः । मात्पुत्राः । इह च न स्यात्—त्वदीयो मदीय इति । अथ निवृत्तम्, " एङ् प्राचां देशे " यस्याचामादिग्रहणं

कर्तव्यम् एवं तर्ह्यनुवर्तते कथं त्वात्पुत्रा मात्पुत्रा इति? सम्बन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते— “ वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् ” ‘ त्यदादीनि च ’ वृद्धसज्जानि भवन्ति, वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । ‘ एङ् प्राचा देशे ” यस्याचामादिग्रहणमनुवर्तते, वृद्धिग्रहणं निवृत्तम् तद्यथा कश्चित्कान्तारे समुपस्थिते सार्थस्युपादत्ते स यदा निष्क्रान्तकान्तारो भवति तदा सार्थं जहाति ।

(प्रदीप.) सम्बन्धमिति द्वितीयांतमेतत् सम्बन्धमनुशेत्स्यते न हास्यतो-त्यर्थः । अथवा सम्बन्धयत इति सम्बन्धम् । कर्माणि घञ् नपुंसकेपि बाधकाभावाद्भवति । वृद्धिग्रहणसम्बन्धमादिग्रहणमिहानुवर्तते इति नास्ति तस्य त्यदादिभिः सम्बन्धः ॥

It will be seen that the whole explanation is based on the analogy of the Man crossing the Forest and the Caravan' which it need hardly be said is not at all satisfactory.

Kaiyata says वृद्धिग्रहणसम्बन्धमादिग्रहणमिहानुवर्तते इति नास्ति तस्य त्यदादिभिः सम्बन्धः ॥ To say that a word 'अनुवर्तते' from a preceding into a following sutra and yet does not get connected with the following sutra, is a contradiction in terms. The essential characteristic of 'अनुवर्तते' is that a portion of a previous sutra is inducted into a subsequent sutra and forms one complete sentence with the subsequent sutra (एकवाक्यतामापद्यते) So if there is an 'anuvṛtti' of a word or words from a previous into a subsequent sutra that word or words must form an एकवाक्य with the subsequent sutra. There is no other way.

On a little consideration it will be seen that all this difficulty could have been avoided simply by arranging the sutras thus —

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् ।

एङ् प्राचा देशे [यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम्]

त्यदादीनि च । [वृद्धम्].

This arrangement does not offend against the paribhāṣa: “चातुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र”, whereas the present order of the sutras does offend.

Now how can we explain the fact that an anomaly which could be remedied by such slight rearrangement of the sutras has been allowed to remain there in the Astā. ? If the author of all the three sutras were one and the same and wrote all the three sutras at one and the same time, then why did he not arrange the sutras in the order indicated above, which would have raised no difficulty ? Our explanation is that originally the Pāda ended with S त्वदादीनि च and that S. एङ्-प्राचां देशे was added later.

Of such anomalous anuvṛttis various explanations—explanations sometimes based on mere fanciful analogies and invented to meet the particular occasion are given. And fortunately for us, all of them occur in the Bṛāṣya on S. I. i. 3. We shall examine that portion of the Bṛāṣya on S. I. i. 3., which deals with the 'anuvṛttis' and see whether Patanjali himself was satisfied with the सम्बन्धानुवर्तन explanation or with the मण्डूकप्लुति explanation which is such a favourite with the later commentators.

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ I. i. 3.

भाष्यम्: यदीग्रहणं क्रियते, योः, पन्थाः, सः, इममिति, एतेऽपि इकः प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

वार्तिकम्:-- संज्ञया विधाने नियमः

भाष्यम्:-- संज्ञया ये विधीयन्ते तेषु नियमः । किं वक्तव्यमेतत् । नहि । कथमनुवर्तमानं गंस्यते ? गुणवृद्धिग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् कथं पुनरन्तरेण गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमिको गुणवृद्धी स्याताम् ? प्रकृतं गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते । क्व प्रकृतम् ? । वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण इति । यदि तदनुवर्तते "अदेङ्गुणो वृद्धिश्च" इत्यदेङ्गां वृद्धि-संज्ञापि प्राप्नोति ।

1. सम्बन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते -- "वृद्धिरादैच्" । "अदेङ्गुणः" इति वृद्धि-रादैच् । ततः-- "इको गुणवृद्धी" इति गुणवृद्धिग्रहणमनुवर्तते, आदैजदेङ्गुणं निवृत्तम् ।

2. अथवा मण्डकगतयोऽधिकाराः । यथा मण्डका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति तद्वदधिकाराः ॥

3. अथैकयोगः करिष्यते—“ वृद्धिरादेजदेङ्गुणः” ततः “इको गुणवृद्धी” इति न चैकयोगेऽनुवृत्तिर्भवति ।

4. अथवा—“अन्यवचनाच्चकाराकरणाच्च प्रकृतापवादो विज्ञायते, यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति” ।

अन्यस्याः संज्ञाया वचनाच्चकारस्य चानुकर्षणार्थस्याकरणात् प्रकृताया वृद्धिसंज्ञाया गुणसंज्ञा बाधिका भविष्यति यथोत्सर्गेण प्रसक्तस्यापवादो बाधको भवति ॥

5. अथवा वक्ष्यत्येतद्—“अनुवर्तन्ते च नाम विधयः न चानुवर्तनादेव भवन्ति किं तर्हि ? । यत्नाद् भवन्ति ” इति ॥

6. अथवा उभयं निवृत्तम् । तदपेक्षिष्यामहे ।

Patanjali here gives six explanations of the anomalous anuvrtti of “वृद्धिः” from the first to the third sūtra. From this we can say that Patanjali himself was not satisfied with the सम्बन्धानुवर्तन and the मण्डकप्लुति explanations. The first explanation which Patanjali offers us is : सम्बन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते. Patanjali not being satisfied with this, gives a second explanation मण्डकगतयोऽधिकाराः। This explanation also not satisfying him he offers us four others. In the Bhasya itself it is said that a second explanation is given, where the first is not in the opinion of the author satisfactory. And so says Kumārila also—

सर्वव्याख्याविकल्पानां द्वयमेव प्रयोजनम् ।

पूर्वत्रापरितोषो वा विषयव्याप्तिरेव वा ॥ †

And one of the Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation lays it down that whenever several explanations are given by the

† अपरितुष्यन् खल्वपि भवाननेन परिहारेण ‘अनाकृतिलिङ्गेन वा’ इत्याह

Bhasya on S. I i 1.

‡ Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā Sūtras Anand. Edition Vol. I p 186

author in successive clauses, it is only the last that is to be taken as the one approved of by the author * And as Patanjali offers us four explanations after the Mandūkya-plati explanation and five after the Sambandhānuvartana explanation it is clear that he was satisfied with neither the Sambandhānuvartana nor the Mandūkya-plati explanations, he resorted to them only as an “अगतिका गतिः”, a counsel of despair The Laghus’abdendus’ekhara on S विरामोऽसाम् I. iv. 110. says:—
सत्याश्रयपत्तौ मण्डूकानुवृत्तेरयुक्तत्वात् ।

II

The Particle च— We find in the Paribhāṣendus’ekhara, the Paribhāṣā— चातुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र. This is not one of the Paribhāṣās, expressly laid down in the Aśtd., but, in the words of the Paribhāṣendus’ekhara “णसुख्यश्रुवर्तमाने ‘अव्ययेऽयथा भिप्रेता’ (III. iv. 59) इति सूत्रे पुनर्णसुख्यप्रहणमस्या ज्ञापकम् ”.

Under ‘च’ Apṭe in his Dictionary says : A particle expressing I. Copulation used to join words or assertions together. ‘In this sense it is used with each of the words or assertions which it joins together ; or it is used after the last of the words or assertions so joined.....’ Now the use of ‘च’ with each of the assertions which it joins together is unthinkable in the Aśtd., because its use with only the last assertion serves the purpose as well and it is well known that अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः . So if ‘च’ is at all used in the sūtras it must be with the last of the assertions and we expect the Adhikāra’ to end with the assertion. So “चातुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र” lays down not so much an artificial Paribhāṣa of the Vyākaranasastra as a rule which governs the structure of a Sanskrit sentence Let us consider the following sūtras from the first Pāda of the first Adhyāya.

* Vide Maine’s Hindu Law Eighth Edition p. 38.

ईददेद् द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् ११ ।
 अदसो मात् १२ । ईदरेत्, प्रगृह्यम् ।
 शे ॥ १३ । प्रगृह्यम् ।
 निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ प्रगृह्यम् ॥
 ओत् १५ प्रगृह्यम् ।
 सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनापे १६ ओत्, प्रगृह्यम्
 उन्न ऊ १७, १८ प्रगृह्यम्
 ईदतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे १९ प्रगृह्यम् ।
 दाधा द्वादप् ॥ २० ॥

It will be seen that sutras 11 to 19 are assertions about 'प्रगृह्यम्' and that 'च' is used with the last assertion. Thus we see that the 'प्रगृह्य' adhikāra ends with S. 19 into which the word 'प्रगृह्यम्' is inducted from S. 11 by a 'च', the word 'प्रगृह्यम्' passing through all the sutras between S. 11 and S. 19 and being connected with each of them on its way from S. 11 to S. 19. With S. 19 the Prāgṛhyādhikāra ends, and S. 20 speaks about the 'धु' verbs. The word 'प्रगृह्यम्' which is drawn into S. 19 from S. 11 by the word 'च' does not further proceed to S. 20. Thus we arrive at the rule: चानुवृत्ते नोत्तरत्र. If any sutra about 'प्रगृह्यम्' had come after S. 19, that sutra would have to be regarded as perhaps a later addition.

So whenever a 'च' occurs in a sutra we expect the sutra to be the last of the assertions about something, i. e. we expect the sutra to stand at the end of an adhikāra or in other words, we expect the anuvṛtti of some word to end with it.

This is supported by the Bhāṣya also. Patanjali on S. I. 1. 48 (पृष्ठी स्थानेयोगा) says:—

अधिकारो नाम त्रिप्रकारः ॥ कश्चिदेकदेशस्थः सर्वं शास्त्रमाभिज्वलयति, यथा प्रदीपः सुप्रज्वलितः सर्वं वेदमाभिज्वलयति ॥ अपरोऽधिकारो यथा रज्ज्वा

अयसा वा बद्धं काष्ठमनुकृष्यते तद्वदनुकृष्यते चकारेण ॥ अपरोऽधिकारः प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थं इति योगे योग उपतिष्ठते ।

Of these three kinds of Adhikāras spoken of by Patanjali we are here concerned only with the second अपरोऽधिकारो यथा रज्ज्वा अयसा वा बद्धं काष्ठमनुकृष्यते तद्वदनुकृष्यते चकारेण . Now if an अधिकृत word (अधिकारः) is drawn towards a sūtra by a 'च', just like a piece of wood tied to a piece of rope or iron (chain) and drawn towards oneself, then it is clear that the word so drawn by a 'च' into a sūtra should not go into the next sūtra, because the function of 'च' is only to attract the अधिकृत word to the sūtra in which it (च) occurs, and not to push it on into the next sūtra. चानुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र.

But there occur in the Aśtd many cases where the rule 'चानुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र' is not observed. This seems to have greatly puzzled Patanjali, so much so that in his Bhāṣya on लुटि च कृपः (I ii. 93.) he proposes to strike off all the anuvṛttya-rtha 'च's from the Aśtd.

लुटि च कृपः I. iii. 93.

भाष्यम्:— किमर्थश्चकारः । स्यसनोरित्येतदनुकृष्यते । यदि तर्हि नान्तरेण चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवति शुद्ध्यो लुङि इत्यत्रापि चकारः कर्तव्यः । विभाषेत्यनुकर्षणार्थः । अथेदानीमन्तरेणापि चकारमनुवृत्तिर्भवति, इहापि नार्थश्चकारेण । सर्वे चकाराः प्रत्याख्यायन्ते । *

उदयोतः— सर्वे चकारा इति । अनुवृत्तिफलका इत्यर्थः ।

* But compare per contra.—

लुटि च कृपः I. iii. 93

Kasika वृतादित्वादेव स्यसनोर्विकल्पः सिद्धः लुटि विधीयते । चकारः तर्हि स्यसनोरनुकर्षणार्थः न वक्तव्यः । एवं तर्हि इयं प्राप्तिः पूर्वा प्राप्तिं बाधेत । तस्माच्चकारः स्यसनोरनुकर्षणार्थः क्रियते । लुटि च स्यसनोश्च कृपेः परस्मैपदं वा भवति ।

It need hardly be said that Patañjali's proposal to drop all the anuvṛtṭyaṭha 'च's from the Aṣṭa. is unscientific. अर्थमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणः, and it is inconceivable that there should be so many useless 'च's in the Aṣṭa. As Patañjali has himself observed in his Bhāṣya on S. I. 1. 1 "प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणि. शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्म तत्राशक्यं वर्णेनाप्यनर्थकेन भवितुम् ". So we ought not to drop the 'च's but try to understand them.

Let us consider the following three sūtras at the end of the first Pāda of the first Adhyāya

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । ७३ ॥

त्यदादीनि च ७४ ॥ वृद्धम् ॥

एङ् प्राचां देशे ७५ वृद्धम् ।

It will be seen that the word वृद्धम्, though drawn into S. 74 from S. 73 by a 'च' yet proceeds to S. 75. Here is an exception to the rule—चानुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र Patañjali would have the 'च' dropped from S. 74. But it is not right to delete the 'च'; we have to understand it. We think that originally there were only two sūtras about 'वृद्ध', viz. S. वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् and S. त्यदादीनि च. The 'च' in S. 'त्यदादीनि च' indicates this. S. 'एङ् प्राचां देशे' is a later addition. Are all the infractions of the Paribhāṣa चानुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र due to later additions of sūtras?

III

The Yogavibhaga :— One who takes up a printed copy of the Aṣṭa. or even a manuscript two or three hundred years old, will find that every sūtra is separately written and in the printed texts numbered. But one would be committing a serious mistake if one were to suppose that Panini originally gave us his sūtras in this way. For instance, in any printed copy of the Aṣṭa, we find sūtras 'वृद्धिरादैच्' and 'अदङ्गुणः'

printed and numbered separately. But Panini himself did not give us his sutras thus separated one from the other, but he gave us them in the संहितापाठ, thus :— वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुण इको-
गुणवृद्धी etc.* But he taught his pupils how to separate them from each other and in most cases it is not very difficult to do so. Every sutra or yoga is a sentence elliptical it may be—and can easily be separated from the rest. This breaking up of the संहितापाठ into its componentsu ras is called योगविभाग-
योगानां सूत्राणां विभागो विभजनम् †. This kind of Yogavibhāga should be distinguished from the one which is sometimes advocated by Kātyāyana and Patanjali where one single sutra (योग) is split up into more than one sutras to cover facts of language, which most probably escaped the notice of Panini and for which he did not intend to provide ‡

There is yet a third kind of योगविभाग, where the Astd. has two consecutive sutras mostly connected with a 'च', when the two sutras could have been combined into one single sutra. We often read in the Kās' kā: — “ किमर्थो योगविभागः ? योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः । ” “ किमर्थो योगविभागः ? यथासंख्यनिवारणार्थो योगविभागः ॥ ” The question is: Why has the Astd. two sutras instead of one ? why is there योगविभाग ? could not the two

* Cf. “ यदि भसंज्ञा, ‘ वृद्धिरादैजदेङ्गुणः ’ इति जश्त्वमपि न प्राप्नोति ” ।

Bhasya on S. I. i. 1.

Also Bhasya on S. स्थानेन्तरतमः । I. i. 49.

यथा पुनरियमन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तिः, सा किं प्रकृतितं भवति—स्थानिन्यन्तरतमे पृथीति । आहोस्विदादेशतः—स्थाने प्राप्यमाणानामन्तरतम आदेशो भवतीति॥ कुतः पुनरियं विचारणा ? उभयथा हि तुल्या संहिता “ स्थानेन्तरतम उरण्परः ” इति ॥

उद्योतः— अनेन संहितापाठ एव पूर्वं स्थित इत्युक्तम् ।

† Cf. Bhasya on S. उष्म ऊँ' (I i. 17) and on S ' प्रादय उपसर्गाः' (I iv. 54) and the note by the दाधिमथ on them in N. S. Edition.

sutras be with advantage combined into one single sutra? The question is almost always answered thus—‘योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः ।’ ‘यथासंख्यनिवारणार्थो योगविभागः’ । . It is this third kind of *Yogavibhāga*, that we are here concerned with. Let us consider the following sutras—

द्वित्रिपूर्वानिष्कात् ॥ V. 1. 30. ॥ विभाषा लुक् ॥

विस्ताच्च ॥ 31. ॥ विभाषा लुक् ॥

विंशतिकाख्यः ॥ 32 ॥

Why is there *योगविभाग* between sutras 30 and 31? Could not the two sutras have been combined into a single sutra—द्वित्रिपूर्वाभ्यां निष्कविस्ताभ्याम्, or better still, द्वित्रिपूर्वानिष्कविस्तात् ? The answer is in the negative. If the two sutras were to be combined into one then the *paribhāṣā* “यथासंख्य-मनुदेशः समानम्” would have applied and the meaning of the sutra would have been: There is optional (*vibhāṣā*) लुक्, of the आर्हीय affix added to ‘निष्क’ preceded by ‘द्वि’, and to ‘विस्त’ preceded by ‘त्रि’. But the author of the sutra wanted that there should be optional लुक् of the आर्हीय affix even when it was added to ‘निष्क’ preceded by ‘त्रि’ and to ‘विस्त’ preceded by ‘द्वि’. In order to accomplish this he had to evade the *yay* संख्य *paribhāṣā* and this he could do only by *योगविभाग*, by writing two sutras—द्वित्रिपूर्वानिष्कात् and विस्ताच्च .

Let us take another group of sutras —

गस्थकन् ॥ III. 1. 146.

Kaśika:—गायतेः थकन् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्तरि । गायकः । गायिका ।

ण्युद् च ॥ 147.

Kaśika:—चकारेण ग इत्यनुकृष्यते । गायतेण्युद् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्तरि । गायनः, गायनी योगविभाग उत्तरार्थः

Nyāsa -योगविभाग उत्तरार्थ इति । उत्तरत्र चकारेण ण्युट् एवानुवृत्तिर्यथा स्यात् । थकनो मा भूदिति । गो ण्युद्धकनावित्येकयोगे थकनप्यनुकुर्येत

दृश्यं व्रीहिकालयोः ॥ 148

Kasika :— चकारेण ण्युट् अनुकुर्यते । जहाते जिहीते च धातोर्ण्युट् प्रत्ययी भवति ।

Here the author of the sutras could have combined SS 146 and 147 into one sūtra गो ण्युद्धकनौ. But he has not done so because he wanted that ण्युट् only and not थकन् also should be inducted into S. 148. The point is made quite clear in the *Kāś'ikā* and the *Nyāsa* on S. 147.

Let us take another example from Pāda iii, Adhyāya IV.

श्रविष्ठाफलमुन्यनुराधास्वातितिस्य पुनर्वसुहस्ताविशाखापादाबहुलाक्षुक् 134

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च ॥ 35.

Why is there the *Yogavibhāga* here? Here there is no possibility of the application of the *Yathāśankhya* *paribhāṣā*; nor is the *anuvṛtti* of 'स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालात्' required in the next sūtra. The *Kāś'ikā* does not give any reason for the *Yogavibhāga*, nor does the *Nyāsa*. The *Kaumudī* is silent on the point. The author of the sutras here seems to have resorted to the *Yogavibhāga* because it would be rather awkward to speak of such bright celestial objects as the *S'raviṣṭhā* etc. and of such earthly things as an ass- or mule-shed, in the same breath; though elsewhere he does not scruple to speak of थन् and मघवन्, in one and the same sūtra. Another reason for the *Yogavibhāga* might be that if the two sutras were to be combined into one then the resulting sūtra would be too cumbersome. But compare S. VII. iv. 65. दाधतिर्धर्मतिर्धर्मपिबोभूतु तेतिक्तेऽलप्योऽऽपनीफणरसंसनिष्यदत्करिक्तकनिक्कद्वरिभ्रदविध्वतोदविद्युत्तत्तरि. व्रतःसरीसृपतंवरीवृजन्ममृज्याऽऽगनीगन्तीति च ।

Let us consider another case of *Yogavibhāga*.

4 प्रजोरिनिः । III. ii. 156.

Kasika. प्रपूर्वाजवतेः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनिः प्रत्ययो भवति प्रजवी प्रजविनौ ॥

जिदृक्षिविश्रीष्वमाव्यथाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च 157

Kasika:— जिप्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यः इनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

Here at last we have a case where no reason has been ascribed for the Yogavibhāga. One may be tempted to say that S. 156 deals with an upasr̥sta root (प्र जु), whereas S. 157 deals with anupasr̥sta roots and so there is Yogavibhāga. But it cannot be so said. There are upasr̥sta roots (विश्री अभ्यम, परिभू, प्रसू) in S. 157 also. There is absolutely no question here of the Yathasankhya rule or of 'उत्तरत्रातृवृत्ति'. So no reason can be assigned to the Yogavibhāga between sutras 156 and 157. Then what is the Yogavibhāga due to? How to explain the Yogavibhāga? We think that originally the Sūtrakāra wrote only S. 156 (प्रजोरिनिः) and that S. 157, is an addition by a later Ācārya. Thus the author of S. 156 is not the same as that of S. 157. Sutra 156 is by an earlier Ācārya, and sutra 157 by a late.

It may be said in the words of Patanjali "पुरस्तादिदमाचार्येण दृष्टं 'प्रजोरिनिः' इति तत्पठितम् ॥ तत् उत्तरकालमिदं दृष्टं 'जिदृ०' इति । तदपि पठितम् न चेदानीमाचार्यः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति " § and that Ss. 156 and 157 are written by the same Ācārya but at different times. But even so it is admitted that when the Ācārya wrote "प्रजु takes the affix इनि" he was

§ Of पुरस्तादिदमाचार्येण दृष्टम् 'भवेच्च तद्धितः' इति । तत्पठितम् । तत् उत्तरकालमिदं दृष्टम् । 'प्रोक्तादयश्च तद्धिताः' इति । तदपि पठितम् । न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति । Paspas'ā.

not conscious of the fact that roots जि etc. also take the same affix (तत् उत्तरकालमिदं दृष्टम्). So he must have added S 157 after a considerable lapse of time, after going through the whole of the then available literature to see what other roots than प्रजु take the affix इनि This is possible, but highly improbable. It must be remembered that “ प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्राणि प्रणयति स्मः. Therefore, it is not likely that he wrote S. प्रजोरिनिः, without thoroughly searching the whole literature available to him for roots taking the affix इनि, the more so because he knew that once he composed a sutra he could not go back upon it (न चेदानीमाचार्याः सूत्राणि कृत्वा निवर्तयन्ति). And if he could not find in his first thorough search of literature that some roots other than प्रजु also take the affix इनि, it is most unlikely that a second search should reveal them to him. It is more reasonable to suppose that a subsequent Ācārya —to whom literature that was not available to the prior Ācārya who wrote S. 156 was available,—composed S. 157 and inserted it in the proper place.

Conclusion. The Mandukapīṭi, the चानुकृष्टस्योत्तरब्राह्मणवृत्त., and the useless Yogavibhāga indicate sutras that have been added later to an already existing book of sutras.

CHAPTER VII

THE GAṆAPĀTHA

It seems that the whole of the Gaṇapātha and consequently, the sūtras for which the various Gaṇas were written, are pre-Paninian. In this connection the definition of उपदेश given by the Kāś'ikā as interpreted by the Nyāsa, is very important : Kāś'ikā (I. iii. 2) :—उपदेशः शास्त्रवाक्यानि सूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च. Nyāsa :—खिलपाठो धातुपाठः । चकारात्प्रातिपदिकपाठश्च । It is true that this statement of the Kāś'ika and the Nyāsa goes against the dictum of Patanjali under S. VI. I. 45 (आदेश उपदेशेऽसिति) :—उदेशश्च प्रातिपदिकानां नोपदेशः । But Patanjali is not so sure that there is any real difference between उदेश and उपदेश. Under S. I. iii. 2, where the word उपदेश occurs for the first time in the Aśtd and where Patanjali tries to determine the exact meaning of 'उपदेश', he says :—कः पुनरुदेशोपदेशयोर्विशेषः ? । प्रत्यक्षमाख्यानमुपदेशः गुणैः प्रापणमुदेशः ॥.....संकीर्णमुदेशोपदेशौ । प्रत्यक्षमाख्यानमप्युदेशः । गुणैश्च प्रापणमुपदेशः ॥.....एवमेतौ संकीर्णमुदेशोपदेशौ ॥. Of also Pāspas'ā :—अथवा इदं तावदयं प्रष्टव्यः केमे संवृतादयः श्रूयेरन्निति ।... प्रातिपदिकेषु तर्हि प्रातिपदिकान्यपि शुद्धानि पठ्यन्ते । यानि सर्वग्रहणानि प्रातिपदिकानि । एतेषामपि स्वरवर्णानुपूर्वीज्ञानार्थं उपदेशः कर्तव्यः ॥ And under S. I. ii. 2, Kātyāyina and Patanjali tell us that उपदेशः = उपदेशनम् = शास्त्रम् (vide Vārtika :—सिद्धं तूपदेशनेऽनुनासिकवचनं and the Bhāṣya on it). Now शास्त्रम् evidently includes the प्रातिपदिकपाठ or गणपाठ.

According to the प्राचीनकारिका, Upades'a includes the Gaṇapātha also:—

धातुसूत्रगणोणादिवाक्यानि गानुशासनम् ।
आगमप्रत्ययादेशा उपदेशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

It is to be noted that the word उपदेश in S I. iii. 2. must be taken to include the Gaṇapāṭha. Otherwise, it would be difficult to give the name of इत् to the consonants at the end of many of the prātipadikas in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus 'ट्' in 'नदट्' 'चोरट्' etc., occurring in the Gaṇapāṭha cannot be called an इत्, unless it be held that S. हलन्त्यम् applies to the Gaṇapāṭha. And S हलन्त्यम् applies only to the उपदेश.

Now the fact that by the word उपदेश which is anuvṛtta from S उपदेशोऽजनुनासिक इत्, into S हलन्त्यम्,—Panini, the author of the Aṣṭa, refers to the Gaṇapāṭha is very significant. It shows that Panini received the whole of the Gaṇapāṭha from his predecessors as उपदेश; because, in the words of Nagoji Bhatta, 'उपदेश इत्युक्ते गुरुकर्तृकतायाः स्वरसतः प्रतीतिः' 1.*

Let us consider the following two sūtras.

उगवादिभ्यो यत् । V. i. 2

Kaśika.—प्राक् क्रीतादित्येव । उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्, गवादिभ्यश्च यत् प्रत्ययो भवति । गो । हविस् बर्हिस् (ग. सू.) नाभि नभं च । (ग. सू.) शुनः सम्प्रसारणं वा च दीर्घत्वं तत्संनियोगेन चान्तोदात्तत्वम् । (ग. सू.) ऊधसोऽनडू च कूप विष । गवादिः ॥

It will be seen that the गवादिगण contains three Gaṇasūtras. कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम् ॥ V. i. 3.

Kaśika—कम्बलान् प्राक् क्रीतयिष्वर्थेषु यत्प्रत्ययो भवति छस्यापवादः संज्ञाया विषये ।

Now a very important question is raised by the Nyāsa, and answered thus:—

अथ गवादिष्वेव कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायामिति कस्मान्न पठति ? । तत्र पाठे न कश्चिद् गुरुलाघवकृतो विशेष इति यत्किञ्चिदेतदिति ॥

* Uddyota, on Paspasa on Vartika — वृत्तिसमवायार्थ उपदेशः ।
Nirnaya Sagara Edition (1917) p. 73

We submit there is certainly some 'विशेष' If the sūtra कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम्, had been included in the Gaṇapāṭha, then, the Sūtrapāṭha would have been shorter by twelve whole मात्राs; moreover there is no reason why 'नाभि नभं च ' शुनः संप्रसारणं वा च दीर्घत्वं तत्सन्नियोगेन चान्तोदात्तत्वम् " and ' ऊधसोऽनङ् च " should be put in the Gaṇapāṭha as Gaṇasūtras, and why 'कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम्' which also could have been included in the गवादिगण as a Gaṇasūtra, should be put in the Aṣṭd. as a sūtra of the Sūtrapāṭha. This is unmethodical. We think the true explanation is that Panini got both S. V. i. 2. and the गवादिगण attached to it from his Ācāryas as उपदेश and so being unwilling to tamper with the text of the गवादिगण, put S. " कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम् " in the Sūtrapāṭha.

In this connection, the Bhāṣya on S. I. i. 34. is very important and let us turn to it

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ I. i. 34.

वार्तिकम्:—अवरादीनां च पुनः सूत्रपाठे ग्रहणार्थक्यं गणे पठितत्वात् ॥

From this Vārtika it is clear that Kātyāyana held that the Gaṇapāṭha preceded the Sūtrapāṭha or Aṣṭādhyāyī in point of time.

(गणपाठसूत्रपाठयोः कालनिर्णयाधिकरणम्)

भाष्यम्:—अवरादीनां च पुनः सूत्रपाठे ग्रहणमर्थकम् । किं कारणम् । गणे पठितत्वात् गणे ह्येतानि पठ्यन्ते ॥ कथं पुनर्ज्ञायते—स पूर्वः पाठः, अयं पुनः पाठ इति ? । तानि हि पूर्वादीनि, इमान्यवरादीनि ॥

प्रदीपः—तेन पूर्वं गणपाठः पश्चात्सूत्रपाठ इत्यर्थः

भाष्यम्:—इमान्यपि पूर्वादीनि । एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति—' स पूर्वः पाठः, अयं पुनः पाठः ' इति । यदयं "पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा" इति नवग्रहणं करोति । नवैव हि पूर्वादीनि ॥

प्रदीपः—नवग्रहणमिति । तत्र हि नवग्रहणं त्यदादीनां निरासार्थं कियते । यदि च नियतसंनिवेशो गणपाठः पूर्वः, ततोऽधिकव्यवच्छेदाय नवग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

उद्द्योतः—नवैवेति भाष्ये । अष्टाध्याय्यां पूर्वत्यादिसूत्रपठितानि इत्यर्थः । अष्टाध्याय्याः पूर्वकालत्वे पूर्वादीनीति सूत्रे अष्टाध्यायीसूत्रपठितानामेव तेषां ग्रहणं स्यादिति भावः ॥

In this passage of the Bhāṣya Patanjali has established that the Gaṇapatha preceded the Aṣṭd. in point of time.

(सूत्रप्रयोजनाधिकरणम्)

1. भाष्यम्—इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायामिति वक्ष्यामीति । एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् एवंविशिष्टान्येवैतानि गणे पठ्यन्ते

2. इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्—व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा भूदिति ॥

प्रदीपः—व्यादिपर्युदासेनेति । त्यदादीनि पठित्वा गणे कैश्चित्पूर्वादीनि पठितानि तत्राद्यादिभ्य इति तसिलादीनां प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति तत्र पुनः सर्वनामसंज्ञा तसिलादिविधानार्थं विधीयते तेन व्यादिपर्युदासो बाध्यते ॥

भाष्यम्—एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति तेषां व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो भवतीति यदयं पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति निपातनं करोति । वार्तिककारश्च पठति “जश्भावादिति चेदुत्तरत्राभावादपवादप्रसंगः” इति ।

3. इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं जासि विभाषा वक्ष्यामीति ।

Let us consider the second of the above three Prayojanas. The सर्वादिगण, as we have it at present, reads:

सर्वं विश्व उभ उभय इतर इतम अन्य अन्यतर इतर त्वत् त्व नेम सम सिम । पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः त्यद् तद् यद् एतद् इदम् अदस् एक द्वि युष्मद् अस्मद् भवतु किम् सर्वादिः ॥

But Patanjali, when he says—“इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्—व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा भूदिति”, refers to a second version of the सर्वादिगण, which read:—

सर्वं विश्व उभ उभय इतर इतम अन्य अन्यतर इतर त्वत् त्व नेम सम सिम त्यद् तद् यद् एतद् इदम् अदस् एक द्वि युष्मद् अस्मद् भवतु किम् पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥ सर्वादिः । (Vide प्रदीप).

It will be seen that the Dvyādis, that is the word द्वि and the words coming after it in the Gana, according to the first version, are.—द्वि युष्मद् अस्मद् भवतु and किम्; whereas, according to the second version, they are:—द्वि युष्मद् अस्मद् भवतु किम् पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् and अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः .

Now let us turn to S V. iii. 2.

किं सर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्व्यादिभ्यः ॥

Baṣika. प्राग्दिश इत्येव । किमः सर्वनामो बहुशब्दाच्च प्राग्दिशः प्रत्यया वेदितव्याः । सर्वनामत्वात्प्राप्ते ग्रहणे व्यादिपर्युदासः क्रियते ।.....अद्व्यादिभ्य इति किम् ? । द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयोः ॥

Thus a प्राग्दिशीय termination is not to be added to a 'Dvyādi' word (अद्व्यादिभ्यः). Now as we have seen the words पूर्व पर अवर दक्षिण उत्तर अपर अधर (व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्) स्र (अज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम्) and अन्तर (बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः), are 'Dvyadis' according to the second version of the सर्वादिगण. Then how can we get forms like पूर्वत्र and उत्तरत्र ? 'त्रल्' is a प्राग्दिशीय termination; and the words पूर्व and उत्तर are 'Dvyadis' according to the second version of the सर्वादिगण; therefore, अद्व्यादिभ्यः इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । To remove this 'द्व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासः' difficulty caused by the second version of the सर्वादिगण—so it is urged—is the purpose (प्रयोजन) of S I. i. 34. (पूर्वपरावर०): इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं—व्यादिपर्युदासेन पर्युदासो मा भूदिति । *

Though this 'Prayojana' or purpose for the sūtra (I. i 34) is not accepted by Patanjali who gets over the द्व्यादिपर्युदास difficulty by means of the आचार्यप्रवृत्ति,—yet, the very fact that it is advanced at all is very significant. It clearly shows that the author of the Aśtd is not the author of the सर्वादिगण and that it existed already before his time in two versions. If the

* Vide the प्रदीप quoted above on this point.

author of the Aśtd. were also the author of the सर्वादिगण, then, he would have given us only that version of the सर्वादिगण, which does not give rise to the व्यादिपर्युदास difficulty.

If the सर्वादिगण pre-existed Panini, the author of the Aśtd., then the sūtras 1. पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्, 2. स्वमज्ञातिधनारुययाम्, and 3. अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंयानयोः, which occur in the सर्वादिगण as गणसूत्रs, must also be pre-Paninian. Panini borrowed the three sūtras from the Gaṇapāṭha and incorporated them in his Aśtd. as SS. I. . 34 35 and 36.

We here witness a peculiar phenomenon. First, we have the sūtra सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि. To it is attached the सर्वादिगण. The gaṇa contains the Gaṇasūtras—“पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्” “स्वमज्ञातिधनारुययाम्” and “अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंयानयोः”. These are taken into the Sūtrapāṭha of the Aśtd. Thus it is clear that some Gaṇasūtras were sometimes turned into the Aśtd. sūtras. Thus ‘उधसोऽनङ् च’ is a Gaṇasūtra occurring in the सर्वादिगण, attached to S. V. 1. 2; but it also appears in the Aśtd. as S. V. iv. 13. These are cases where Gaṇasūtras have been turned into the Aśtd. sūtras. In some cases धातुगणसूत्रs have served as the basis of some Aśtd. sūtras. Commenting on S. III. i. 21 the Nyāsa says:—प्रातिपदिकाद् धात्वर्थे बहुलमिष्टवच्च (धा. सू.) इत्यनेन मुण्डादिभ्यः सिद्धो णिच् अयं च तस्यैव प्रपञ्चः. And again, four sūtras later, on S. 25 the Nyāsa says:—चुरादिभ्योऽन्येषामिह ग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्थम्। ‘प्रातिपदिकाद् धात्वर्थे’ इति सिद्धत्वात्। Here we see a धातुगणसूत्र forming the basis of the Aśtd. sūtras III. i. 21 and 25.

Thus we have seen that Panini, the author of the Aśtd. received both the Gaṇapāṭha and the Dhātupāṭha (see Chapter II) from his Ācāryas as उपदेश.

The Gaṇapāṭha seems however not to have been held so unchangeable and sacred as the धातुपाठ. Successive Ācāryas

seem to have made changes in the Gaṇapāṭha. This is due mainly to the fundamental difference between the words contained in the धातुपाठ and those contained in the गणपाठ. The गणपाठ consists of nouns—and many of these are names of persons families, tribes countries and towns and villages. All these are liable to fluctuations of fortune. Thus the tribes that were extant at the time of the predecessors of Panini might not be in existence at the time of Panini—and tribes might have changed their places of habitat migrating from one country to another, sometimes leaving the stamp of their names on the countries which they left for good. This is evidenced by the sūtra योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्. New towns, tribes families and personalities arose and threw into background or even oblivion the older ones. This seems to have made changes in the Gaṇapāṭha from time to time imperative. But such was not the case with the Dhātupāṭha. The Dhātus being primal elements of the language are not liable to change. Particular forms given by a root may become obsolete; but the root itself can never become obsolete. The same old root appears under new forms. This we think is the reason why the Dhātupāṭha has been preserved in its pristine purity and why the gaṇas of nouns, given by the Kāś'ika and the Kaumudī sometimes differ so widely.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RIDDLE OF THE PĀNINĪYA

I. The Dhātupāṭha does not seem to be by the author of the Aṣṭd. but seems to be the work of a predecessor of Panini. But nevertheless the arrangement of roots and the system of इत्s in the Dhātupāṭha clearly shows that the author of the Dhātupāṭha knew very many sutras now found in the Aṣṭd. and so arranged the roots in the Dhātupāṭha as to serve the purposes of those sutras. (Chapter II)

II. Similar is the case with the Gaṇapāṭha (Chap VII)

III. The Aṣṭādhyāyī.

(1) The Maṇḍūkapluti the चानुकृष्टस्योत्तरब्रानुवृत्तिः, and the purposeless Yogavibhāga, indicate sutras that have been added later to an already existing book of . sutras. (Chapter VI)

(2) a In the Aṣṭd. there is not a single important Paribhāṣā that has not important exceptions (p 57).

b Some important Paribhāṣās that were expressly laid down in the works of Panini's predecessors and not met with in the Aṣṭd. , are nevertheless applicable to the Aṣṭd. because they are, in the words of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara -पाणिनीयतन्त्रे ज्ञापकन्यायसिद्धानि ।* (p. 33

(3) The Aṣṭd. is not uniform in its use of Sanjñās or technical terms. (Chapter IV)

* Nagoji Bhatta begins his Paribhasendusekhara with the words: प्राचीनवैयाकरणतन्त्रे वाचनिकानि, अत्र पाणिनीयतन्त्रे ज्ञापकन्यायसिद्धानि भाष्यवार्तिकयोरुपनिबद्धानि यानि परिभाषारूपाणि तानि व्याख्यायन्ते ।

- (4) There are to be found in the Aśtd. some metrical sūtras. (Chapter V)
- (5) The Aśtd. is very irregular in its use of caesars (Ib d)
- (6) The Nipātana sūtras intervene abruptly between rules expressed in the regular analytic form. (Ib d)
- (7) In the Aśtd. the Vedic literature is referred to promiscuously with the words छन्दस्, मन्त्र and निगम; and the notion of option is expressed indistinctly with the words ना, उभयथा, अन्यतरस्याम्, विभाषा and बहुलम्. For 'substance' four words are used: द्रव्य, सत्त्व, अधिकरण and बन्धु (p. 66).

If we can formulate a hypothesis which will rationally explain all the above facts connected with the Paninian system, we can be sure of having arrived at the right solution of the riddle of the Pāṇinīya.

“It will be long before we understand, if indeed we ever come to do so, what and how much of it is Panini’s own, in addition to the work of his grammatical predecessors.”

Whitney, *The Veda in Panini*, p. 1.

CHAPTER IX

THE STRUCTURE OF THE AṢṬADHYĀYĪ.

I

Panini and his Predecessors — Panini was not the first grammarian of India. Many great grammarians like S'ākātāyana had come and gone before him. Panini was not even the founder of the school which goes by his name. He refers to his 'आचार्यः' and this shows that Panini was not the founder of a new school but that he was one of a series of आचार्य's of a school that already existed in his time. And so Panini must have carried on the work that was done by the predecessors in his school and he must have carried it on mainly on the lines laid down by them. At the time of Panini there were many schools of grammar in India. The names of some of the great figures belonging to schools other than the one to which Panini belonged, are preserved for us in the Aṣṭā. They are Āpiś'ali, Kaś'yapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Oākravarmaṇa, Bhāradvāja, Sākatayana, Sākalya, Senaka and Sphoṭāyana. This long array of names of the predecessors of Panini is sufficient to show that the science of grammar had made much progress before Panini—nay the theory of Sphoṭa, which is peculiar to grammarians seems, to judge from the name Sphoṭāyana to have been fully formulated long before Panini. In Panini's time we are told by Patanjali,*

* किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थः, आहोस्विद् द्रव्यम्? उभयमित्याह । कथं ज्ञायते ? । उभयथा ह्याचार्येण सूत्राणि पठितानि । आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यामित्युच्यते । द्रव्यं पदार्थं मत्वा सरूपाणामित्येकशेष आरभ्यते । Paspas'ā

there were already developed two theories about 'पदार्थ' one asserting that the आकृति was the पदार्थ, and the other the द्रव्य. And Panini could not choose between the two and accepted both.

Seeing that so much work on the science of Grammar had been already done before Panini by so many Ācāryas, the question how far Panini is indebted to them naturally arises. This question in one of its important aspects, viz, as to in what relation Panini stands to his predecessors as regards his technical devices—has been admirably dealt with by Dr. Mangala Deva Shastri, M. A. Ph. D. in a very interesting paper read by him before the Fourth Oriental Conference

The paper is divided into three parts. In the first part the doctor has shown that the Māheś'wara sutras and the Pratyāhāras we get from them are pre-Paninian; and that even the Pratyāhāras 'सुप्' and 'तिङ्' are really pre-Paninian. He has also pointed out that the two Paribhāṣās "गतिकार-कोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते" and "हित्वा श्वातुबन्धेन निर्दिष्टं यद्गणेन च । यत्रैकाङ्ग्रहणं चैव पञ्चैतानि न यद्भुक्ति ॥" are universally proclaimed by the commentators to be पूर्वाचार्यपरिभाषाs. And he has proved that the terms सम्प्रसारण, उपधा, अपृक्त, वृद्धि, प्रत्यय, and इल्ल which is the Aṣṭd. विकरण of the third conjugation, were also known before Panini.

In the second part he has shown that Panini was not the first grammarian to make the use of Anubandhas and that in many cases the meaning of the Anubandhas now found in the Aṣṭd. is identical with that which was attached to them in earlier grammatical works

In the third part the learned doctor goes on to show that almost all the Akṣṛīma Sanjñās used in the Aśtādhyāyī were also to be found in pre-Paninian works, and that the device of coining artificial Sanjñās was not wholly unknown to Panini's predecessors.

II

सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम्:— Keeping these facts in our mind, let us turn to the Aśtādhyāyī. What do we find there? The Sanjñās laid down in the Aśtādhyāyī are not adhered to in the Aśtādhyāyī itself. There is no important Paribhāṣā which has not important exceptions not a few but many. There is no uniformity in the use of cases. The Veda as was pointed out by Whitney is referred to as छन्दस् मन्त्र and निगम promiscuously. And the notion of option is expressed with the words वा, उभयथा, अन्यतरस्याम्, विभाषा and बहुलम् indiscriminately.

The last of these facts had struck Patanjali also and under S. II. ii. 57 (पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमं) & S. VI. iii. 14. (तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम्) he gives an explanation of it in the words —

अवश्यं खल्वप्यस्माभिरिदं वक्तव्यम् बहुलमन्यतरस्यामुभयथावैकेषामिति । सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् ॥

Here at last we have found the key to more than half the riddle of the Aśtādhyāyī. The words वा, उभयथा, अन्यतरस्याम्, विभाषा, एकेषाम्, and बहुलम् are used indiscriminately to express the notion of option, because सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् . The Veda is promiscuously referred to as छन्दस्, मन्त्र, and निगम because सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् . There is much irregularity in the use of cases because सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् । There is no important Paribhāṣā without important exceptions because सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् ।

And again, the Sanjñās laid down in the Aśtd. are departed from in the Aśtd itself because— सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् ।.

The word पारिषदम् is derived from the word परिषत् by adding the Taddhita affix अञ्, according to S. पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च IV. iii. 123 in the sense of 'तस्येदम्', which may be roughly translated into English by 'belonging to'. Thus the word पारिषदम् means: belonging to a परिषत् or school.* The word सर्ववेदपारिषदं therefore means 'belonging to all the Vedic schools'. So Patanjali says this expressing of the notion of 'option' by the use of various words वा etc., is due to the fact that the Pāṇinīya S'āstra does not belong to one school but to all the schools of all the Vedas and the use of different words expressing 'option' in the Aśtd., is in keeping with the use of different words expressing option in the various Vedic schools. Thus Patanjali tells us that the Aśtd. is made up mainly of sutras culled out from grammatical works, belonging to various schools of the Veda and the irregularities in it are to be attributed to that fact.

We may also explain the word सर्ववेदपारिषदम् as परिषदि जातं पारिषदम् । सर्ववेदानां पारिषदं सर्ववेदपारिषदम् ।. Thus the sentence 'सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम्', means: This S'āstra originated in all the schools of all the Vedas. And what is the consequence of this? तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम्; it is impossible to stick to any single way in the Aśtd., uniformity is impossible in the Aśtd. This means that the sutras of which the Aśtd. is made up originated, not in any single school of any single Veda, but in all the schools of all the Vedas, and whatever irregularities we may come across in the Aśtd. are attributable to that fact.

* अष्ट्येतृसंघः परिषद्. Kaiyata on S. VI. iii. 14.

We must remember that the Vyākaraṇa is one of the six Angas of the Veda. Like all sciences of ancient India, the Vyākaraṇa also originated in the Vedic schools; and it is interesting to note that the ऐतरेयारण्यक teaches the संहितोपासना.

This statement of Patanjali that the Pāṇinīya Śāstra is सर्ववैश्वपरिपद, and consists mainly of sūtras culled out from various sources is supported by the fact that we come across in it sūtras by at least three different philosopher-grammarians: one a नैयायिक, the second a सांख्य and the third a भाववादिन्. In the Aśtd there are four different words used to express what is in English expressed by the word 'substance': viz. 'अधिकरण' in S. V. iii. 43.; 'वस्तु' in S. V. iv. 9.; 'सत्त्व' in S. I. iv. 57.; and 'द्रव्य' in S. V. iv. 11.* These four sūtras in which these four different words for 'substance' occur are not evidently by one author. If Panini had written all these four sūtras himself, why did he use four different words to convey a single notion, viz. that of 'substance'? Here it is evident that Panini borrowed verbatim at least three of the above sūtras from earlier Ācāryas. If we suppose that Panini used the word द्रव्य for 'substance', then he must have incorporated sūtras I. iv. 57., IV. iii. 43. and V. iv. 9. into the Aśtd. from the works of three different grammarians belonging to different schools of thought. Thus S. IV. iii. 43. (अधिकरण विचाले च), containing the word 'अधिकरण' meaning 'substance', was evidently borrowed from the work of a grammarian who with the नैयायिकs believed that the द्रव्य is different from the गुणs, that the द्रव्य is the अधिकरण of the गुणs, that the द्रव्य or substance is the place where the गुणs reside.¹ And S. V. iv. 9

* Vide foot note on p. 66.

1. Cf. गौतमन्यायसूत्र. II. ii. 66 व्यक्तिगुणविशेषाश्रयो मूर्तिः । Vatsyayana Bhasya' व्यज्यत इति व्यक्तिरिन्द्रियग्राह्येति न सर्वं द्रव्यं व्याक्तिः ।

(जात्यन्ताच्छब्दुनि) was evidently borrowed from a grammarian who with the Sāṅkhyas believed that the द्रव्य was nothing but a ' गुणानां बन्धु ', a bundle of qualities.²

Some philosophers of whom Vāisyaṇi was the chief went beyond the categories of the Sāṅkhyas and the Naiyāyikas and arrived at the conception of ' भाव '. They thought that the प्रधान and the पुरुष of Sāṅkhyas and the ईश्वर, the परमाणु s &c. of the Naiyāyikas were nothing but the various manifestations of the भाव; and that the भाव was the primal substance which manifests itself as the universe.³

यो गुणविशेषाणां स्पर्शान्तानां गुरुत्वघनत्वद्रवत्वसंस्काराणामव्यापिनः परिमाण-
स्याश्रयो यथासम्भवं तद्द्रव्यं मूर्तिर्भूच्छिन्नावयवत्वादिति ॥

2 वक्तवान्यथैव प्रकान्तो भिन्नेषु प्रतिपत्तुषु । स्वप्रत्ययानुकारेण शब्दार्थः प्रावि-
भज्यते । तथा च वैशेषिकेणावयविनं प्रति-
पादयितुं घटशब्दः प्रयुक्तः साख्यैर्गुणसमाहारमात्रमभिमन्यते Vakyapadiya
Benares 1887 p. 138.

1 & 2 किं पुनर्द्रव्यम् ? के पुनर्गुणाः ? शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धा गुणाः । ततोऽन्यद्-
द्रव्यम् । किं पुनरन्यच्छब्दादिभ्यो द्रव्यमाहो छिन्नन्यत् ? गुणस्यायं भावाद् द्रव्ये
शब्दनिवेशं कुर्वन् ख्यापयत्यन्यच्छब्दादिभ्यो द्रव्यमिति ॥ अनन्यच्छब्दादिभ्यो
द्रव्यम् । नह्यन्यदुपलभ्यते । पशोः खल्वपि विशसितस्य पर्णशते न्यस्तस्य नान्य-
च्छब्दादिभ्य उपलभ्यते ॥ अन्यच्छब्दादिभ्यो द्रव्यम् तत्त्वमनुमानगम्यम्
कोसावनुमानः ? । यस्य गुणान्तरेष्वपि प्रादुर्भवत्सु तत्त्वं न विहन्यते तद्-
द्रव्यम् तथा आमलकादीनां फलानां रक्तादयः पीतादयश्च गुणाः
प्रादुर्भवन्ति । आमलकं चदरमित्येव भवति ॥ Bhasya on S. V. 1 119. तस्य
भावस्तत्त्वौ . .

द्रव्ये च भवतः कः सम्प्रत्ययः ? यदि तावद् गुणसमुदायो द्रव्यम् ।
Bhasya S IV. 1 3. स्त्रियाम्.

* इदानीं कारणात्मा भावो निरूप्यते । क्रियाद्रव्ययोः स्वात्मस्थो विशेषः कार्य-
त्मप्रध्वस्तयोः पुरुषोपभोगसन्तानोपक्षये कार्यात्मभावातीतो येनात्मभावेन भवन-
मात्राभिसन्धिना प्रलयकालेऽवतिष्ठते सोऽत्यन्ताविनाशधर्मा आत्मा भाव इत्युच्यते ।

This 'भाव' was divided into two categories—'पूर्वापरीभूत' and 'मूर्तः सत्त्वभूतः'. The first is expressed in language by verbs and the second by nouns.* Thus what the nouns express is भाव that has, as it were, become frozen (मूर्त). When the भाव becomes frozen or मूर्त it is called सत्त्व. This 'सत्त्व' is analogous to 'द्रव्य', and so the word सत्त्व became synonymous with the word द्रव्य. And we think that those sutras in the Aśtd in which the word सत्त्व occurs in the sense of द्रव्य or substance are taken from grammarians who with Varṣyāyaṇi, held that this world of actions and forms is nothing but a manifestation of the भाव. This doctrine of भाव was evolved in the Veda-pariṣats; Durga tells us that this doctrine was taught in the वेदरहस्यब्राह्मणः †

These sutras show that Panini, whenever he borrowed sutras from others' works borrowed them verbatim without troubling himself to change their wording, otherwise 'बन्धु', 'अधिकरण' and 'सत्त्व' in the sutras considered above would have been changed to simple 'द्रव्य', which smacks of no particular school of philosophy.

आह । कथमयमिह प्रसक्तः । शृणु । तद्विकारा एव हि द्रव्यगुणकर्मभावेनावस्थिताः सन्तो नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातैराभिधायिन्ते स्थितिकाले ॥...आह प्रधानमेतत्स्यात् । किं कारणम् । तद्भावेन ह्येतज्जगदवतिष्ठते प्रलयकाल इत्येके मन्यन्ते । तच्च नैव । किं कारणम् । भावविकार एव हि सोपपदशब्दवाच्यत्वात्—प्रधानभाव इत्युच्यते । पुरुषस्तर्हि । तत्राप्ययमेव हेतुरख्यपक्षीणशक्तित्वात् ॥ एतेनैवेश्वरपरमाप्त्वादिभावविकाराः प्रत्युक्ताः । ईश्वरभावः परमाणुभाव इति सोपपदत्वात् ॥ Durga on Nirukta Adhyaya I., Pada 1. Khanda 2.

* पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनाचष्टे व्रजति पचतीत्युपक्रमप्रभृत्यपवगपर्यन्तम् मूर्तं सत्त्वभूतं सत्त्वनामभिः । Nirukta I. 1. 1.

† Vide Nirukta, Anandasrama Edition (1921) p. 28 वेदरहस्यब्राह्मणैस्तत्र तत्र विस्तरेणायं निर्णयिते.

The use of the word परिमाण in the Astd. is worth noting. In S. V. 1. 39 (गोद्वयचोऽसंख्यापरिमाणाश्चादेर्यत्) both the words, परिमाण and संख्या occur, and it is evident that the word परिमाण does not include 'संख्या'. But in S. IV. iii. 156 (क्रीतवत्परिमाणात्) —संख्या परिमाणगृहणेन ग्रह्यते, न रूढिपरिमाणमेव । (Kās' ka). It is evident that the two sūtras come from two different mathematician-grammarians, who held different views about the nature of परिमाण.

Another circumstance that shows that the Astd. is made up of sūtras borrowed verbatim from various sources, and that in it नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थानुम् is the occurrence in the Astd. of what the भाष्य calls 'सोत्रो निर्देशः', that is, the use of word-forms which are incorrect according to the Astd. This occurrence in the Astd. of non-Astd. forms has called forth very scathing remarks from भट्टकुमारिल. Says he.—

सूत्रवार्तिकभाष्येषु दृश्यते चापशब्दनम् ।

अश्वारूढाः कथं ह्यश्वान् विस्मरेयुः सचेतनाः ॥

सूत्रे तावज्जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिरित्यत्र द्वावपशब्दौ । जनिशब्देन हि इच्छितपौ धातुनिर्देशे इत्यनेन लक्षणेनान्वितो धातुरेव निर्दिश्यते । न च तस्य कर्तुः प्रकृतेः अपादानसंज्ञेष्यते । जायमानस्य पुनरर्थस्य जनिशब्दो वाचकतया नैव लक्षणेनानुगतः । तेनायं दरिद्र इवाश्वशब्दः जनिमात्रवाचित्वात् तदर्थं प्रत्यसाधुरेव विज्ञायते ॥ तथा तृजकाभ्यां कर्तृगीति प्रतिपिद्धपष्ठसिमासप्रयोगाद्व्याकरणफलपरित्यागः । एवं तत्प्रयोजक इति प्रतिपिद्ध एव समानः †

That the later commentators have somehow or other proved or tried to prove that the word जनिकर्तुः is a correct Astd. form† does not entitle us to think that nowhere in the Astd., the rider has forgotten the horse on which he is riding.

† तन्त्रवार्तिक under S. 24 in अ०. I. पा. iii अ० 8 मीमांसादर्शन. Vol I p. 258 Anandasrama Edition.

† Vide Tattvabodhini on I. 4. 30. जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः

In many sūtras word-forms occur which can in no way be shown to be supported by the Aśtd., and which the best of commentators are compelled to pass over as quickly as possible, making the short remark सौत्रो निर्देशः.

तिर्यच्यपवर्गे । III. iv. 60.

भाष्यम्:— अयुक्ते ऽयं निर्देशः तिरश्चीति भवितव्यम् सौत्रो निर्देशः ।
अन्वयानुलोम्ये । III. iv. 64.

भाष्यम्:— अयुक्तोऽयं निर्देशः । अन्वचीति भवितव्यम् सौत्रोऽयं निर्देशः ।
छदिस्पधिवलेढम् V. i 13. समाहारद्वन्द्वे सौत्रं पुस्तकम् ।

Bālamānorama & Tattvabodh.

तदर्थं विकृतेः प्रकृतौ । V. i 12. “ तदर्थमिति सामान्ये नपुंसकं व्यत्ययेन सप्तमीस्थाने प्रथमा । Tattvabodhini.

अनेन तदर्थमित्यत्र सुव्यत्ययेन सप्तम्याःस्थाने प्रथमा, लिङ्गव्यत्ययेन च स्त्रीलिङ्गस्य स्थाने नपुंसकलिङ्गं कृतमिति दर्शयति । ननु च छन्दसि व्यत्यय उक्तः नेदं छन्दः । तत्कृतो व्यत्ययः । छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्तीत्यदोषः ।

Ny āsa.

युवोरनाकौ । VII i 1.

समाहारद्वन्द्वे युवुन इति प्राप्नोति । इतरेतरयोगे तु युवोरिति । तत्र सौत्रत्वान्निर्देशस्य नुममकृत्वोकारलोपं वा कृत्वा निर्देश इति न दोषः । Kaiyata

नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य । VIII. 2. 7.

प्रातिपदिकग्रहणमसमस्तमेव सुपां सुलुगिति पष्ठया लुको (*śio*) निर्दिष्टम् । पदस्येति वर्तते । प्रातिपदिकस्य पदस्य योन्त्यः । Kāśīkā.

This difficulty about the विशेषण-विशेष्यभाव between ‘पदस्य’ and ‘प्रातिपदिक’ shows that the sūtra was not originally under the ‘पदस्य’ domain or अधिकार; and that it was put under it from somewhere else. प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य is an adjective to the word ‘न’ in ‘नलोपः’. Therefore नलोपः is an असमर्थसमास, सापेक्षमसमर्थं भवति . Therefore ‘नलोपः’ is a compound not allowed by the अष्टाध्यायी (Of S. समर्थः पदविधिः II i. 1.). Bhaṭṭoji tries to

get over this difficulty by imagining that नलोपः is not a compound word but that 'न' and 'लोपः' are two distinct पदः 'न' being equal to नस्य, with the genitive termination elided. In either case we do not get over the difficulty of non-Astā-dhyāyī forms if नलोपः is a compound, there is the असमर्थसमास which is not allowed (cf. Tattvabodhini: पूर्वपदेसापेक्षत्वेन समास-सम्भवात्) if न नस्य, then also we can explain it only by saying नेति लुप्तपष्ठिकं पदं सौत्रत्वात् (Tattva.) which is also not quite satisfactory.

The difficulty about the असमर्थसमास is felt also in S. लिङः सलोपोऽनन्त्यस्य Cf. Tattva. सेति लुप्तपष्ठिकमनन्त्यस्येत्यनेन विशेष्यते ।

Another circumstance that proves irrefutably that whenever Panini borrowed sutras from another system he borrowed them verbatim without making the slightest change is the occurrence in the अष्टाध्यायी of sutras which teach the formation of words with affixes which have इत्s which are quite useless in the अष्टाध्यायी system. For instance let us take the sutra लोहितादिडाङ्भ्यः क्यप् III. i. 13. Patanjali in his Bhāṣya on this sutra has shown that both the इत्s in the affix क्यप् viz कृ and प्, are useless and serve absolutely no purpose*. Here it is evident that S. लोहिताङ् was borrowed from a system where both कृ & प् in the affix क्यप् had some meaning. Nay this is not all. There occur some sutras in the अष्टाध्यायी in which the affixes have इत्s which go against the system of the Astā-dhyāyī in their operation. The three well-known sutras औङ् आपः (VII. i. 18) आङ् चापः (VII. iii. 105) and आङो नाञ्जियाम् (VII. 3. 120) are an instance in point. Let us consider the first of these three sutras —

*Cf.. Kaityāṇa:— यदीति । अनेन ककारः प्रत्याख्यातः इदानीं पकारः प्रत्याख्यानाय विचारः क्रियते ।

औड आपः VII 1 18

काशिका.— आवन्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्यौडः शीत्ययमादेशो भवति, खद्वे पश्य ।
बहुराजे । कारीपगन्धे

“औड्, coming after a stem ending in आप् is changed to शी”. Thus we get खद्वा+औ -खद्वे. Now let us turn to the Bhāṣya on the sūtra.

किमर्थो ङकारः ? सामान्यग्रहणार्थः औ इत्युच्यमाने प्रथमाद्विवचनस्यैव स्यात् अथाप्यौडित्युच्यते एवमपि द्वितीयाद्विवचनस्यैव स्यात् अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् किं तर्हीति ङित्कार्यं तु प्राप्नोति । खद्वे माले याडाप इति याद् प्राप्नोति । नैष दोषः । नैवं विज्ञायते ङकार इत्यस्य सोऽयं ङित् ङितीति । कथं तर्हि ? ङकार एव ङित् ङितीति एवं तर्हि वर्णग्रहणमिदं भवति । वर्णग्रहणेऽपि चैतद् भवति यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावग्रहण इति न दोषो भवति अथवा वर्णग्रहणमिदं भवति न चैतद्वर्णग्रहणेऽपि भवति ‘अनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्येति’ । अथवा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयम् पूर्वसूत्रेषु येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते ।

औकारोऽयं शीविबौ ङित्गृहातो ङित्वास्माकं नास्ति कोऽयं प्रकारः ।

सामान्यार्थस्तस्य चासञ्जनेऽस्मिन् ङित्कार्यं ते इत्यां प्रसक्तं स दोषः । १ ।

ङित्वे विद्याद्वर्णनिर्देशमात्रं वर्णं यत्स्यात्तच्च विद्यात्तदादौ ।

वर्णश्चायं तेन ङित्वे न दोषो निर्देशोऽयं पूर्वसूत्रेण वा स्यात् ॥ २ ॥

It will be seen that Patanjali gives here three explanations of the strange ङ्; in the first explanation he takes the position that the sūtra is by Panini himself and that औड् is used in the sūtra as a प्रत्यय; and proceeds to explain away the याद् difficulty by taking the compound ङित् in S. ङितीति as a तत्पुरुष and not as a बहुव्रीहि. This explanation not satisfying* him he hazards a second and says that औड् in the sūtra is not used as a प्रत्यय, but as a letter pure and simple. This explanation also was felt by him to be not

सर्वव्याख्याविकल्पानां द्वयमेव प्रयोजनम् ।

पूर्वत्रापारितोषो वा विषयव्याप्तिरेव वा ।

Kumarila,

† Contravenes the p. 110.

प्रत्ययाप्रत्यययोः प्रत्ययस्य ग्रहणम् ।

r satisfactory, and so he offers a third and it is submitted, the correct explanation viz that the sūtra has been borrowed verbatim from earlier works. That this third explanation is the correct one and that Panini did borrow from others sūtras verbatim can be seen by comparing S आङि चापः (VII 3 105) and आङो नास्त्रियाम् (VII 3, 120) with the present sūtra. The first of these has not at all been commented upon by Patanjali and though he has commented upon the second one he has unfortunately not considered whence this आङ्, strange to the Paninian system comes. The S'iddhanta Kaumudī on "आङो नास्त्रियां" definitely says 'आङिति दासंज्ञा प्राचाम्;' and the Kaśikā commenting upon S. VII. 11. 105 (आङि चापः) says "आङिति पूर्वाचार्यनिर्देशेन तृतीयैकवचनं गृह्यते".

If it was anywhere imperatively necessary for Panini to translate sūtras borrowed from the works of grammarians of other schools, it was in these three instances. He has not done so. Does this circumstance not entitle us to conclude that Panini whenever he borrowed sūtras from others borrowed them verbatim without troubling himself to make changes in them so as to conform with his own system?

Bhāradvāja is one of the grammarians named by Panini in the अष्टाध्यायी. To some sūtras now found in the अष्टाध्यायी भारद्वाजीय Vārtikas are attached and are quoted by Patanjali. Is it that such sūtras are borrowed by Panini from Bhāradvāja?

Thus we see that the Aśtd. contains sūtras borrowed verbatim from various sources and incorporated into it. It is सर्ववेदपारिषदम्; and therefore तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम्.

Now let us turn to the problems of the Paninīya (Chapter VIII) and see whether we can solve any of them.

III (7) The Veda is promiscuously referred to as छन्दस्, मन्त्र, and निगम, in the Aśtd and the notion of option is expressed by as many as five words— वा, उभयथा, अन्यतरस्याम्, विभाषा and बहुलम्.

Solution : - सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् . This S'āstra originated and exists not in one particular school of one particular Veda, but in all the schools of all the Vedas. This S'āstra contains sutras borrowed verbatim from various sources and incorporated into it. Therefore there is bound to be variety in the use of words. नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् ।

(6) The निपातनसूत्रs intervene abruptly in the middle of sutras expressed in the regular analytic form.

Solution— सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् .

(5) There is much irregularity in the use of cases in the Aśtd.

Solution: सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम्. The Aśtd. is built up of sutras drawn from various sources; and the irregularity, or rather the variety, in the use of cases is due to that fact तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम्.

(4) There occur in the Aśtd. some sutras which, taken singly or together with a preceding or following sutra fall into metre.

Solution — सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् । The metrical sutras were probably borrowed and incorporated into the Aśtd. from metrical grammatical works like the Rkpiātis'ākhyā.

(3) The Aśtd. is not uniform in its use of technical terms or Sanjñās.

Solution सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् । तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् । न शक्यमेकां संज्ञामास्थातुम् । It is impossible to stick to any particular term to express any particular idea or thing, because the Astd. sutras come from various sources.

(2. b) Many Paribhāṣas 'प्राचीनवैयाकरणतन्त्रे वाचनिकाः', though not expressly laid down in the Astd., are nevertheless applicable to it, because they are, in the words of Nagojibhaṭṭa पाणिनीयतन्त्रे ज्ञापकन्यायसिद्धाः.

Solution: सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् . Portions from the works of प्राचीनवैयाकरणस have gone towards the making up of the Astd. and therefore the paribhāṣas which were 'वाचनिकाः' in their तन्त्र, are also applicable, generally speaking, to the Astd.

(2. a) All the important paribhāṣas found in the Astd. have numerous important exceptions in the Astd. itself.

Solution — सर्ववेदपारिपदं हीदं शास्त्रम् तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम् । The Astd. contains sutras from various earlier grammatical works. These earlier grammatical works had their own paribhāṣas, which sometimes differed from the paribhāṣas to be met with in the Astd. The sutras of the earlier grammatical works naturally accorded to the paribhāṣas which were to be found in those earlier grammatical works; and when some of the sutras of the earlier grammatical works were taken verbatim into the Astd., naturally they formed exceptions to the Astd. paribhāṣas.

But the matter does not end here. We seem to have arrived at an earlier grammatical work forming the basis of the Astd. For, evidently the fact that there are some paribhāṣas found in the Astd. entitles us to expect that a book of sutras which was written strictly according to the paribhāṣas now to be met with in the Astd., lies hidden in the Astd.

And this is supported by the fact that the *Māndūkya* Upaniṣad, the *Chāṇakya* Upaniṣad, and the purposeless *Yoga-vibhaga* seem to indicate sūtras added later to an already existing book of sūtras.

III

THE BASIS OF THE AṢṬA.

Now let us take the following six sūtras and consider them carefully. A thorough understanding of their significance will throw much light on how Pāṇini worked on the construction of the Aṣṭa.

जनपदे लुप् ॥ IV. ॥. 81.

Kaśika देशे तन्नाम्नीति यश्चातुरर्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुब्भवति ग्रामसमुदायो जनपदः पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः पञ्चालाः कुरवः मत्स्याः अङ्गाः। वङ्गाः। मगधाः सुह्याः। पुण्ड्राः।.....

वरणादिभ्यश्च । IV ॥. 82.

Kaśika. वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उत्पन्नस्य चातुरर्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब्भवति । अजनपदार्थ आरम्भः । वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं वरणाः etc.

✓ लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्तवचने । I. ॥. 51

Kaśika:— लुपीति लुप्संज्ञया लुप्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थ उच्यते । तत्र लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्तवचने भवतः युक्तवदिति निष्ठाप्रत्ययेन क्तवतुना प्रकृत्यर्थ उच्यते । स हि प्रत्ययार्थमात्मना युनाक्ते । तस्य युक्तवतो व्यक्तवचने लुब्धे विधीयते अथवा युक्तः प्रकृत्यर्थः प्रत्ययार्थेन सम्बद्धः तस्मिन्निव व्यक्तवचने लुब्धे भवतः व्यक्तवचने इति च लिङ्गसंख्ययोः पूर्वचर्यनिर्देशः तदीयमेवेदं सूत्रम् तच्च चास्य प्रत्याख्यानं भविष्यति तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादिति । व्याक्तिः स्त्रीपुनर्पुंसकानि वचनमेकत्वद्वित्वबहुत्वानि पञ्चालः क्षत्रियाः पुल्लिङ्गाः। बहुवचनविषयाः तेषां निवासो जनपदः यथा तेषु क्षत्रियेषु व्यक्तवचने तद्वजनपदे भवतः पञ्चालाः, कुरवः..... लुपिति किं ? लुकि मा भूत् ।* लवणः सूपः लवणा यवाणः । लवणं शाकम् ।

* Note the difference between लुप् and लुक्.

Panini proceeds to refute this last sūtra (I. i. 51) which is that of his पूर्वार्च्यसूत्र†

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् । I. ii. 53.

Kāśīa:— तदिति प्रकृतं युक्तवद्भावलक्षणं निर्दिश्यते । तद् अशिष्यं न वक्तव्यम् कस्मात् ? संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् संज्ञाशब्दा हि नानालिगसंख्याः प्रमाणं पञ्चाला वरणा इति । नैते योगशब्दाः । किं तर्हि ? जनपदादीनां संज्ञा एताः । तत्र लिङ्गं वचनं च स्वभावसिद्धमेव न यत्नप्रतिपाद्यम् यथा आपो दारा गृहाः सिकता इति ।

Panini having thus refuted S. I. i. 51 which is a sūtra of his predecessors, proceeds now to refute the sūtras that enjoin लृप् elision like S. जनपदे लृप्, on which S. I. ii. 51 (लृपि युक्तवद्-व्यक्तिवचने) depends * and which also must therefore be पूर्वार्च्य-सूत्रः.

लृट्योगाप्रख्यानात् I. ii. 54.

Kāśīa: लृट्यशिष्यः योऽयं जनपदे लृप्, वरणादिभ्यश्चेति लृबुच्यते अयं न वक्तव्यः । किं कारणं योगाप्रख्यानात् । नहि पञ्चाला वरणा इति योगः संवन्धः प्रख्यायते नैतदुपलभामहे वृक्षयोगान्नगरे वरणा इति । किं तर्हि संज्ञा एताः । तस्मादेव तस्य निवासोऽदूरभवश्चेति तद्धितो नैवोत्पद्यते । किं लृपो विधानेन

योगप्रमाणे च तदभावे अदर्शनं स्यात् । I. i. 55

Kāśīa: पञ्चालादयः संज्ञाशब्दाः न योगनिमित्ताः इत्युक्तम् । तच्चावश्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यम् योगप्रमाणे हि तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् यदि पञ्चालादिशब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तदभावेऽदर्शनमप्रयोगः स्यात् दृश्यते च सम्प्रति विनैव क्षत्रियसम्बन्धेन जनपदेषु पञ्चालादिशब्दः । ततोऽवसीयते नायं योगनिमित्तकः किं तर्हि स्मृतिरूपेणैव तच्च प्रवृत्त इति

The *Kāśīa* tells us that I. ii. 51. is a पूर्वार्च्यसूत्र borrowed by Panini. And the tenor of the *Kāśīkā* on I. i. 53, 54 and 55, clearly shows that sūtras जनपदे लृप् and वरणादिभ्यश्च are

तदेतत्पूर्वार्च्यसूत्रं पाणिनिः प्रत्याचष्टे ।

Balamanoorana, on I. ii. 53

* Cf. उपजीविकं प्रत्याख्यायोपजीव्यं प्रत्याचष्टे—लृट्योगेति ॥ *Uttvab.*

also sutras by Panini's पूर्वाचार्यः. This is also the opinion of the Bāṇimānoriā. But the author of the तत्त्वबोधिनी says that S. लुपि युक्तवद्ब्यक्तिवचने is written by Panini himself 'पूर्वाचार्याहरोधेन'.* But this is we submit erroneous. The Kāś'ikā expressly tells us that S. लुपि युक्तवद्ब्यक्तिवचने is a पूर्वाचार्यसूत्र and in the face of this we cannot give credit to the opinion of the तत्त्वबोधिनी that the sutra is पूर्वाचार्याहरोधेन कृतम्. The Kāś'ikā is undoubtedly a far greater authority than the तत्त्वबोधिनी. Moreover we have seen above that Panini has incorporated into his work the sutras औड आपः, 'आडो नास्त्रियाम्' and 'आडि चापः' from the works of earlier अचार्यः without troubling himself to transform them according to his own terminology, and if it was anywhere absolutely necessary for Panini to recast his sutras borrowed from others it was here. If Panini has not cared to recast sutras which he borrowed with assent, it is extremely unlikely that he should restate in his own language the sutras of पूर्वाचार्यः which he proposes to refute; when refuting another's opinion it is necessary for one to state that other's opinion in that other's own words.

Let us dwell a little longer on the explanation given by the author of the Tattwabodhinī. He introduces the sutra 'तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्' with the note: पूर्वाचार्याहरोधेन कृतं सूत्रं सम्प्रति प्रत्याचष्टे. And next he introduces the sutra लुब्धोगाप्रख्यानात् with the words 'उपजीवकं प्रत्याख्यायोपजीव्यं प्रत्याचष्टे'. Here the sutra 'लुपियुक्तवद्ब्यक्तिवचने' is the उपजीवक and the sutra 'जनपदे लुप्' the उपजीव्य. So if the उपजीवक sutra is composed by Panini पूर्वाचार्याहरोधेन, then the उपजीव्य also must have been composed by him पूर्वाचार्याहरोधेन. Now, it is to be noted that S. लुब्धोगाप्रख्यानात् is I. ii. 54 and जनपदे लुप्, IV. ii. 81. Thus the तत्त्वबोधिनी would have us believe either, that Panini

* पूर्वाचार्याहरोधेन कृतं सूत्रं सम्प्रति प्रत्याचष्टे.

wrote IV. ii. 81 first, and then proceeded to refute it by I. ii. 54; which is ridiculous; or that Panini having told us that लृप् is अशिष्य or not to be taught in the first अध्याय proceeds himself to teach it (लृप्) by the sūtra जनपदे लृप्, in the fourth अध्याय which also is obviously impossible. The explanation given by the काशिका and the चालुमनोरमा does not give rise to such absurdities. What actually happened was that Panini found the sūtras 'लृपियुक्तवद् व्यक्तित्वेचने' and 'जनपदे लृप्' in their respective places, i. e. one in a former and the other in a subsequent chapter of a book that already existed in his time and took that book as the basis of his work and turned it into the present अष्टाध्यायी, by revising and enlarging it with sūtras mostly borrowed from other sources. This book which served Panini as the basis of his work, we submit was the work of his own "आचार्य" to whom he refers in his अष्टाध्यायी.

It is to be noted that the sūtras जनपदे लृप् and 'लृव्योगाप्रख्यानात्' show that between two sūtras of the अष्टाध्यायी, there might be in some cases an interval of several centuries. The sūtra 'जनपदे लृप्' must evidently have been written at a time when the connexion between the countries and the warrior tribes from whom they (countries) got their names was living; but at the time of Panini who wrote S. लृव्योगाप्रख्यानात् evidently the connexion between the warrior tribes and the countries named after them was severed (cf. दृश्यते च सम्प्रति विनैव क्षत्रियसम्बन्धेन जनपदेषु पंचालादिशब्दः Kas'ikā). For such vast changes in the residences of the क्षत्रिय tribes to take place, it must evidently have taken several centuries.

We have seen that 'वरणादिभ्यश्च' is a पूर्वाचार्यसूत्र. Then evidently the वरणादिगण also is not by Panini but by the author of the sūtra वरणादिभ्यश्च. Thus Panini in this case is

indebted for both the गण and the sūtra pertaining to it to his "पूर्वाचार्यः".

The लुप् ought not to be taught says Panini. Therefore it follows, all of the sūtras teaching 'लुप्' are not by Panini.

We are now in a position to formulate a hypothesis which will rationally explain all the problems of the Pāṇinīva.

Panini got handed down to him as Upadeśa from his Acaryas a book of sūtras which conformed to the Paribhasas now found in the Aśtd., with the Dhatupatha and the Ganapatha as companion volumes to that book of sūtras. The book of sūtras, Panini found, was incomplete and inadequate as a manual of Sanskrit Grammar. So he proceeded to enlarge it

1. mainly by incorporating into it sūtras borrowed from grammatical works belonging to schools of grammar other than his own; which sūtras can be detected by the fact that they generally contravene the Paribhasas found in the Aśtd. and
2. by framing, wherever necessary, fresh sūtras of his own and adding them to it (i.e. the original book of sūtras got from his Acaryas); which sūtras are detectable by the fact that, though they conform to the Paribhasas found in the Aśtd., yet are indicated to be later additions by the three tests of the Mandukapūti, the चानुकुट्टस्योत्तरत्रानुवृत्ति, and the purposeless Yogavibhaga.

In this way did Panini give us a सर्ववेदपारिषदं शास्त्रम्, in which नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम्.

If we take out all the sūtras added by Panini, whether of his own authorship or borrowed from works of schools other

than his own we shall arrive approximately at the original book of sutras which was got by Panini from his Ācāryas and which formed the basis of his Astadhyāyī. This we shall call The Basis Book of Sutras.

Let us turn to Chapter VIII. There we read,—The Dhātupāṭha does not seem to be by the author of the Astd. but seems to be the work of a predecessor of his. But nevertheless the system of roots and the arrangement of roots in the Dhātupāṭha clearly shows that the author of the Dhātupāṭha knew very many sutras now found in the Astd. and so arranged the roots in the Dh. P. as to serve the purposes of those sutras.

Solution.—All such sutras which seem to have guided the author of the Dhātupāṭha in his composition of the Dhātupāṭha were contained in the Basis Book of Sutras. We think that the author of the Basis Book of Sutras is the same as the author of the Dhātupāṭha. This Ācārya who wrote the Basis Book of Sutras seems to have held, with S'ākatāyana and the Nairuktas, that the नामानि were आख्यातजानि, and so wrote his Dhātupāṭha as to serve a double purpose—that of the student of grammar and also that of the student of words on the lines laid down in the Nairuktas (vide p. 10).

Similar is the case with the Gaṇapāṭha. The whole of the Gaṇapāṭha is the work of Panini's Ācāryas and the sutras for which the various Gaṇas were written are also the work of Panini's Ācāryas. The sutras were a part of the Basis Book of Sutras.

This Basis Book of Sutras seems to have been mainly divided into two parts: one dealing with the roots with the Dh. P. attached to it, the other dealing with nouns, with the

Gaṇapāṭha attached to it. This is supported by the fact that, as shown by Dr. Mangala Deva Shastri the pratyayas तिप्, शप् and झल्, and the pratyāhāra तिङ्, are pre-Paninian. Evidently, the pratyaya तिप् and the pratyāhāra तिङ् presuppose what is now P. III. iv. 78 (तिप्तस्). Thus S. III. iv. 78 (तिप्तस्) must be pre-Paninian. We think that S. II. iv. 78 formed part of the Basic Book of Sūtras on which the Aṣṭd. is built.

We think that the part dealing with roots and the Dh. P. in the Basic Book of Sūtras, began with the sūtra भूवादयो धातवः, which is now P. I. iii. 1. The sūtra tells us what the words contained in the Dh. P. are, it says they are roots or Dhātus. So it is *the* sūtra to stand at the beginning of that part of the Basic Book of Sūtras, which treated of the roots.

Strangely enough this is supported by the anomalous व् in S. भूवादयो धातवः.* The one explanation given by the Vārtika-kara unhesitatingly of this 'व्' is that it is there as an invocation for auspiciousness or Mangala: भूवादीनां वकारोयं मंगलार्थः प्रयुज्यते. But in S. I. i. 1. the author of the Aṣṭd. has already had his मङ्गल, by writing 'यद्विरादैच्' instead of 'आदैज्जद्विः'. Now why is there another मङ्गल in I. iii. 1? Patanjali says (I. iii. 1): मङ्गलादीनि मङ्गलमध्यानि मङ्गलान्तानि च शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते। But it is to be noted the मध्यमङ्गल is very rarely, if at all, found. And Patanjali himself speaks under S. I. i. 1. of only the आदिमङ्गल and not at all of the मध्यमङ्गल. Even if we accept Patanjali's dictum under S. I. i. 1. that there ought to be a मङ्गल in the मध्य or middle of a work evidently I. iii. 1. is in no sense the मध्य or the middle of the Aṣṭd. It is rather its

* Cf. Bhasya.—कुतोऽयं वकारः? यद्विरादसंहितया निर्देशः क्रियते, भूवादय इति भवितव्यम् अथासंहितया भू आदय इति भवितव्यम् । I. ii. 1.

† मङ्गलादीनि हि शास्त्राणि प्रथन्ते etc. Bhasya on S. I. i. 1.

beginning. And in the beginning Panini has had his मङ्गल in S. I. i. 1, by placing the संज्ञा, viz 'वृद्धिः' before the संज्ञिन्, viz. 'अदैच्' contrary to the practice invariably followed in the Aṣṭā. And did Panini think that the force of that मङ्गल was exhausted so early as when he came to the end of the first half of the very first Adhyāya? So we must look for another explanation of this double मङ्गल in the beginning of the Aṣṭā. We think that the sūtra 'भूवादयो धातवः,' stood at the beginning of that portion of the Basic Book of Sūtras which treated of the Dhātus or roots; and the 'व्' was there meant to be for मङ्गल. Panini has built up his Aṣṭā on that Basic Book of Sūtras, and S. भूवादयो धातवः appears in the Aṣṭā as S. I. iii. 1. This, we think is the true explanation of the double मङ्गल in the beginning part of the Aṣṭā.

The other part of the Basic Book of Sūtras, to which the Gaṇapāṭha was attached, seems to have dealt mainly with nouns—their declension and the Taddhita affixes. It is interesting to note that the pre-Paninian paribhāṣā, 'गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सह समासवचनं प्राक्सुबुत्पत्ते' contains the pratyāhāra 'सुप्'; and 'सुप्' evidently presupposes what is now P. IV. i. 2 (स्वौजस०). Thus S. स्वौजसमौ०, IV. i. 2, is pre-Paninian, and the Kāśīkā (II. ii. 2 कर्मणि द्वितीया) says: द्वितीयादयः शब्दाः पूर्वाचार्यैः सुपां त्रिकेषु स्मर्यन्ते तैरेवात्र व्यवहारः. And the Nyāsa (I. i. 42. शि सर्वनामस्थानम्) says: सर्वनामस्थानमिति। पूर्वाचार्यैरेवेयं प्रयोजनमन्तरेणापि महती संज्ञा प्रणीता. We have seen above that the sūtras 'जनपदे लुप्' and 'वरणादिभ्यश्च', which are about the Taddhita affixes, are by पूर्वाचार्यैः. Therefore it would not be wrong to suppose that most of the portion in

[Of. Bhasya on S. I. i. 1 एतदेकमाचार्यस्य मङ्गलार्थं मृष्यताम्। माङ्गलिक आचार्यो महतः शास्त्रौघस्य मङ्गलार्थं वृद्धिशब्दमादितः प्रयुङ्क्ते। सर्वत्रैव हि व्याकरणे पूर्वोच्चारितः संज्ञा, परोच्चारिता संज्ञा। अदेङ्गुण इति यथा।

the Aśtā dealing with the declension of nouns and the Taddhita affixes is really the work of Panini's Ācāryas, and formed part of the Basic Book of Sūtras.

Here we seem to have arrived at rather a very startling conclusion. The Dīpatipāṭha is not by Panini but by his Ācāryas. The same is the case with the Gaṇipāṭha. And in the Aśtā itself only those sūtras can be definitely ascribed to Panini, which, though they do not go against the Pāṇi-bhaṣās found in the Aśtā yet can be shown to be additions by Panini by the three tests of the Maṇḍūkyaṭh, the चातुर्क-दृश्योत्तरत्रादृष्टिः, and the purposeless Yogavibhāga. Such sūtras form only a negligible minority in the Aśtā. Then why call the Aśtā system of grammar the Pāṇinīya at all? Why? Because—answer Patanjali and Vamana and Jayāditya—it is पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् । न तु कृतम् .

भाष्यम्:—पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् । Paṣpā's'ū

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ IV, 11, 101

वार्तिकम्:—प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकं तत्रादर्शनात् ॥

भाष्यम्:—प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकम् । किं कारणम् । तत्रादर्शनात् । ग्रामे ग्रामे कालापकं काठकं च प्रोच्यते तत्रादर्शनात् न च तत्र प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ।

वार्तिकम्:—ग्रन्थे च दर्शनात् ।

भाष्यम्:—यत्र च दृश्यते ग्रन्थः स भवति तत्र कृते ग्रन्थ इत्येव सिद्धम् ॥ छन्दोर्थं तर्हीदं वक्तव्यम् । न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते । नित्यानि छन्दांसि ॥

वार्तिकम्:—छन्दोर्थमिति चेत्तुल्यम् ।

भाष्यम्:—छन्दोर्थमिति चेत्तुल्यमेतद्भवति । ग्रामे ग्रामे काठकं कालापकं च प्रोच्यते तत्रादर्शनात् । न च तत्र प्रत्ययो दृश्यते । ग्रन्थे दर्शनात् यत्र दृश्यते ग्रन्थः स भवति । तत्र कृते ग्रन्थ इत्येव सिद्धम् । ननु चोक्तम् । न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते । नित्यानि छन्दांसि इति यद्यप्यर्थो नित्यः । यात्वसौ वर्णानुपूर्वी साऽनित्या । तद्देदाच्चैतद्भवति । काठकम् कालापकम् । मोदकम् । पैप्पलादक-

मिति । न तर्हीदानीमिदं वक्तव्यम् । वक्तव्यं च । किं प्रयोजनम् ? । यत्तेन प्रोक्तं
न च तेन कृतम् । माथुरी वृत्तिः ॥ यदि तर्हि अस्य निबन्धनमस्ति इदमेव
वक्तव्यम् तत्र वक्तव्यम् तदप्यवश्यं वक्तव्यम् यत्तेन कृतं न च तेन प्रोक्तम् ।
वाररुचं काव्यम् । जालूकाः श्लोकाः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् । IV. ii. 10

Kasika—तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थान् प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो
भवति । प्रकर्षेणोक्तं प्रोक्तमित्युच्यते, न तु कृतम् कृते ग्रन्थ इत्यनेन गतत्वात् ।
अन्येन कृता माथुरेण प्रोक्ता माथुरी वृत्तिः पाणिनीयम् आपिशलम् ।

काशकृत्स्नम् ॥

And it is because the vast majority of sutras in the Astā. are not by himself but by his predecessors, that Panini refers to the Sūtrapāṭha as उपदेश.

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् ॥ I. iii. 2.

Kasika—उपदिश्यतेऽनेनेत्युपदेशः शास्त्रवाक्यानि मूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च ।

CHAPTER X

PĀNINI'S WORK

It may be asked: Why is it that Panini did not write a new work altogether? Why did he content himself to be a mere *Pravaktṛ*? The answer is twofold. First, we must remember that the strength and the weakness of the Indian intellect lies in its dislike of new things. It has great reverence for the past and whatever cannot be shown to be 'Anādi', to be beginningless, to have come from immemorial antiquity does not satisfy it. The craze for new things and cheap originality was unknown amongst us, until we caught it (or do we only seem to have caught it?) from the West. And so Panini did not like to write an entirely new work of his own. Secondly, Panini was forced by the circumstances of his time to be only a *Pravaktṛ*. A comparison of the Cāndia and the Pāṇinīya grammars will make our point clear. Candia has based his grammar entirely on the Pāṇinīya; so much so, that we can say that the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa is an improved version of the Aśtd. The reason for this is not far to seek. Candra found that the system of the Aśtd. had many defects which badly needed remedying. How was Candra to do the remedying? by writing an altogether new work with an entirely new terminology and new sutras? Yes, that would seem to be the best course. But Candra saw better and did not adopt it. He took the Aśtd. made a few necessary changes in the text of the sutras arranged the sutras into six Adhyāyas and gave them to the world as his grammar. Why did he do so? Was he a plagiarist? No Candra was too great for that. He was one of the Aśāryas who revived the study of the Mahābhāṣya and

so quickened the scientific study of the Aṣṭā. Moreover a plagiarist discovers a book written by an ancient author which is lost to the world, and palms it off as his own work. The Aṣṭādhyāyī was in no sense lost to the world in Candia's time. It was studied all over India. Then why did Candia take the Aṣṭā. and recast some sutras in it and make some slight innovations in its arrangement and offer it to the world as the Candia Vyākaraṇa? Why did not Candia write an entirely new work? Candia saw that the Aṣṭā. sutras were studied from hoary antiquity. Generations after generations of students had committed them to memory and philosophers and litterateurs had conducted their grammatico-philosophical discussions on the basis of the Aṣṭā. sutras. Commentators had quoted them in their commentaries. And now, if Candia had written sutras altogether new the students of Candia would have been unable to understand grammatical discussions based on the Aṣṭā. sutras, and to that extent would have been cut off from the main philosophical and literary currents. So what Candia did was to take bodily sutras from Panini making only a few necessary changes so that a student of Candia can easily understand generally speaking, all grammatical references to and discussions based upon the Aṣṭā. sutras. Similar, it seems, were the considerations that weighed with Panini. He wanted to give us a manual of grammar which would be exhaustive and comprehensive. He found that his own Ācāryas had handed down to him a

† यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भट्टो व्याकरणागमः

काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थितः ४८८ ॥

पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः

स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः ॥ ४८९ ॥

Vakyanpadīya Kanda II.

system of grammar however incomplete and defective. He also found works as those of Āpiś'ali having great authority and currency among the people. Under these circumstances if Panini had given his generation an entirely new work his generation would not have accepted him. Therefore Panini took the system of grammar that was handed down to him from his Ācaryas for the basis of his work and developed it into the present Pāṇiṇīya.

Fortunately for us the Vārtikas which are attached to the sūtras of the Aṣṭa and which are attributed to Kātyāyana, are an illustration in point. Nagaji is clearly of opinion that the Vārtikas are not all of them by one author. Cf. Uddyota-
न च वचनेत्यस्यापि वार्तिकत्वाद्वाार्तिककृतास्त्रीयवचसः कथं प्रमाणत्वेनाश्रयणमिति
भाष्ये वार्तिकेत्याद्यहुपपन्नमिति वाच्यम् अन्योऽयं वार्तिककारो वार्तिकारा-न्तरी-
यतद्वचनं प्रमाणान्तरत्वेनाश्रयतीत्यदोषात् And Kielhorn has shown
that the Vārtikas now attributed to Kātyāyana are not all of
them his work there were more than one Vārtikakāras.
Thus says Kielhorn the prose Vārtikas are by an author dif-
ferent from that of the S'loka-vārtikas; because some S'loka-
vārtikas are directed against prose-Vārtikas; others try to
improve upon them; and yet others intend to explain them.
Kātyāyana was thus the last great Vārtikakāra who collected
together all the Vārtikas by his predecessors with some addi-
tions of his own. Similar was the case with Panini. He was

* तत्र ये साधवस्ते शास्त्रेणाहुशिष्यन्ते । असाधुभ्यो विविक्ताः प्रकृतिप्रत्य-
यविभागेन ज्ञाप्यन्ते । इमे साधव इति । कथं पुनरिदमाचार्येण पाणिनिनावगत-
मेते साधव इति ? । आपिशलेन पूर्वव्याकरणेन । आपिशलिना तर्हि केनावगमः ?
ततः पूर्वेण व्याकरणेन ।

Padamanjari.

† On Bhasya on Vārtika लुप्तारख्यातेषु च, on S समर्थः पदविधिः,
II i 1,

the last great Sūtrakāra of the school to which he belonged and he built up his Aṣṭādhyāyī mainly out of sūtras from his predecessors. Thus Panini did not wipe out of existence the works of his predecessors by his Aṣṭādhyāyī but preserved them in it.

Panini's work — Now it may be asked was Panini simply a Pravakṛt? and if he was a mere Pravakṛt how is it that his name has eclipsed all other names in the field of grammar? He has eclipsed all other grammarians, first, because he was the first grammarian to try to give us a comprehensive सर्व-वेदपारिषद्, book on grammar. Secondly, it was he who disentangled grammar from other things with which it seems to have been mixed up before his time. He laid down that grammar had nothing to do with how a word gives a particular meaning because as to the meaning it is the usage among the Śiṣṭas that determines it and not grammar. A second change which Panini effected was to do away with the कालाधिकार, which was to be found in earlier grammatical works and adopt a new arrangement and the most ingenious part of this new arrangement is the division of the Aṣṭādhyāyī by means of S. VIII. ii. 1. (पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्) into the सपादसप्तध्यायी and the त्रिपादी.

* Vide S. I. ii. 56 (प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थः) and the Kāśikā thereon.

† पाणिनोपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम् ।

Candrabhūṭi LI. 2. 68.

उपज्ञातेच । IV. iii. 115.

Kāśikā. — पाणिनोपज्ञातमकालकं व्याकरणम् ।

Cf also. न वै कालाधिकारोऽस्ति Bhasya on S. परीक्षे लिट् III. iii. 115.

PART II
ANALYSIS OF THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

CHAPTER XI

PRINCIPLES OF ANALYSIS OF THE ASTD.

Every sutra in the Astd is *prima facie* to be considered to have formed part of the Basic Book of Sūtras, unless :

It can be shown to have been incorporated into the Astd. by Panini from the work of another school by the fact that it contravenes the Paribhāṣās found in the Astd.

or

It can be shown to have been framed by Panini himself and added to the Basic Book of Sūtras—by means of the three tests of the Maṇḍūkyaṭṭha, the चातुष्टयस्योत्तरत्र नुवृत्तिः, and the purposeless Yoga-vibhāga.

(Vide p. 114)

The above are the principles that should guide us broadly speaking, in our analysis of the Astd. But it should be remembered that every sutra should be considered independently and with respect to its context. Only after that can we definitely say whether it was part of the Basic Book of Sūtras, or an addition by Panini to it in building up his सर्ववेदपारिषदं शास्त्रम्.

CHAPTER XII.

ANALYSIS OF III.

प्रत्ययः । 1.

परश्च । 2.

Kasika. चकारः पुनरस्यैव समुच्चयार्थः । तेनोणादिषु परत्वं न विकल्प्यते ॥

आशुदात्तश्च । 3.

अनुदात्तौ सुप्तिर्तौ । 4.

{	गुप्तिर्जकिद्भ्यः सन् । 5 . मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य । 6. धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा । 7 सुप अत्मानः क्यच् ' 8. काम्यच्च 9 उपमानादाचारे । 10.	}
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Note the पञ्चमी in all the sūtras from 5 to 10 for the प्रत्ययविधि Cf also तुदादिभ्यः शः, तनादिकृष्ण्य उः, कयादिस्यः श्रा, etc. That the proper vibhakti for the प्रत्ययविधि is the पञ्चमी is clear from S यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेङ्गम्. We have emphasised on this point here because we shall later come across some sūtras which have a षष्ठी for the प्रत्ययविधि. It is evident that they were incorporated by Panini into the Aṣṭd from grammatical works belonging to schools other than his own. The proper function of the षष्ठी is given in the Bhaṣyā on S 1. 1. 1 षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्यादेशा उच्यन्ते ॥ आगमा अपि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्योच्यन्ते । लिङ्गेन च । Bhaṣya on III. i. 21, says : षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टं विकारागमयुक्तं भवति पञ्चमीनिर्दिष्टाच्च प्रत्ययो विधीयते ।

Sūtras 8 to 10. We have shown above (pp. 67-73) that S. 'काम्यच्च' is a later insertion in between SS. 8 and 9.. It is an addition by Panini.

उपमानादाचारे । 10.

कर्तुः क्यङ्सलोपश्च । 11.

‘च’ not अनुवृत्त्यर्थः. ‘अन्वाचयशिष्टः सलोपः’. भाष्यम्.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेर्लोपश्च हलः । 12.

‘च’ not अनुवृत्त्यर्थः. ‘अन्वाचयशिष्टो हलो लोपः’. भाष्यम्.

लोहितादिडाजभ्यः क्यप् । 13.

कटाय क्रमणे । 14.

Sutra 13 is highly suspicious. Its position is anomalous, because in the following sutra viz. S. 14 there is the क्यङ्सु-
वृत्ति and not क्यपसुवृत्ति. But, क्यङ् ought to retire at S. 13, just
as क्यच् retires at S. 11. This shows that S. 13 is a later
insertion. In the Basa Book of Sutas, S. 14 came immedi-
ately after S. 12. The sutra लोहिता° seems to have been bor-
rowed by Panini from another system and inserted in bet-
ween the sutras 12 and 14.

Another thing to note about this sutra is that as shown
by Patanjali (p. 105), both the इत्s in क्यप्, viz क् and प् are
useless in the Paninian system. This shows that the sutra
was borrowed by Panini from a system where both क् and प्
had some meaning.

सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्गवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो णिच् । 26

1. From the sutra it is evident that ‘वर्ण’ and ‘चूर्ण’ were
not to be found in the चुरादिगण. Now both of them are found
in it

2. Why are the चुरादि roots mentioned along with प्राति-
पदिकs like रूप, वीणा, तूल etc, in one and the same sutra? Is
it that the author of the sutra thought that the चुरादिs were
more of प्रातिपदिकs than of धातुs? It should be noted that
Yaska regards the चुरादिs as धातुs.

कृतेरीयङ् । 29.

It should be noted here that कृति is a sūtra root not mentioned in the Dhātupāṭha. The sūtra does not contravene any Paribhāṣā found in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Therefore this sūtra is framed by Panini himself and is later than the Dhātupāṭha.

कमेणिङ् । 30.

Root कम् is according to the Dh. P. a ऋदि. Therefore it would take शप् according to the Dh. P. The author of the Aṣṭd. says that root कम् takes णिङ् and not शप् therefore this sūtra is post-Dh. P. This sūtra is an addition by Panini to the Basic Book of Sūtras.

कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि 35.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः । 36.

दयायासश्च । 37.

1. By the च in S. 36, आम् is inducted into it from S. 35. But 'आम्' proceeds to S. 37. Here the Paribhāṣā चातु-कृष्टं नीतरत्र is broken.

2. Now let us consider the Yogavibhāga between S. 36 and S. 37. Sūtra 36 is a general rule; sūtra 37 mentions three particular roots which take आम्, thus S. 36 is a general rule whereas S. 37 is a particular rule. Therefore the Yogavibhāga between the two can be attributed to that fact. Why is there Yogavibhāga between S. 35 and S. 36. ? The portion 'प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि' of S. 35 is a general rule; S. 36 also is a general rule, therefore there is Yogavibhāga between them. Now let us see why there is Yogavibhāga between S. 35 and S. 37. It may be said that the portion 'प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि', of S. 35, is a general rule and S. दयायासश्च a particular rule therefore there is Yogavibhāga. But the word कास्, in S. 35 is to be noted. If root कास् can be mentioned in S. 35 there is no reason why

the three roots दय, अय, and आस् should not also be put in S. 35 along with कास्, thus — दयायास्कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि. If it was desired to separate the general and the particular rules then the author of the sūtras ought to have written:—

प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि ।

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ।

दयायास्कासश्च ।

There is no reason why कास् should be put in S. 35 and why दय, अय and आस् should be put in S. 37.

Our explanation of all the facts is that the Basic Book of Sūtras contained only S. 35 and S. 36. And as both of these are general rules having a broad application they were given separately in two sūtras. Now there remained only the root कास्. The author of the Basic Book of Sūtras did not think it proper to allot one whole sūtra for the one root कास्. Therefore he put it in S. 35 along with the general rule प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि; thus giving us the sūtra : कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि. Panini found that the three roots दय, अय, and आस् also take आम्. Therefore he framed S. दयायासश्च and added it as the third sūtra.

Of. Candrar:—

अनेकाचो लिटि आम्कृभ्वस्ति लिट् चातु ।

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छोर्णोः ।

कासयदयासः ॥

उपविदजागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् 38.

भाष्यम्:— भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति: 'विदेराम् किन्निपातनाद्वा अगुणत्वम् ।

Is the sūtra borrowed from Bhāradvāja?

भीन्दीभृद्व्यां श्लुवच्च । 39.

'पञ्चमीनिर्दिष्टाच्च प्रत्ययो विधीयते । Patanjali on S. III. i. 1. But here षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टात्प्रत्ययो विधीयते. ∴ The sūtra borrowed by Panini from another system.

वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुत्रमुक्त्रुसिबुटिलषः ॥ 70.

Sutra 70, an addition by Panini. Vide p. 16. et seq.

स्वादिभ्यः श्रुः । 73.

श्रुवः श्रु च । 74.

Nyasa:— श्रु श्रवण इति भ्वादौ पठ्यते । ततः शपि प्राप्ते श्रुर्विधीयते

Sutra 74 added by Panini. Of. our remarks on 'धिवि-
कृण्वयोर च' on pp. 18 19.

अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् 75

Added by Panin. Remarks same as on S वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमु०,
mutatis mutandis. Vide pp. 16 17.

तनादिकृष्ण्य उः 79

The text of the sutra indicates that originally 'कृष्' was
not among the तनादिः. Kāśīrasvamin has a 'कृष्' among the
भ्वादिस.

धिविकृण्वयोर च । 80.

Addition by Panini. Vide pp. 18 19.

स्तम्भस्तुम्भस्क्रम्भस्क्रम्भस्क्रम्भश्च । 82.

'आषाथत्वारो धातवः सौत्राः' (Kāś'ikā). Vide our remarks on
the sautra roots in Chapter II (pp. 19-21). Remarks similar
to those made on S. वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमु० on pp. 16 et seq apply
to this sutra also. The sutra (82) is an addition by Panini.

न दुहस्तुनमां यक्चिणौ । 89.

(1) भाष्यम् : भारद्वाज्याः पठन्ति यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे णिभ्रन्थिग्रन्थि.
ब्रूयात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानमिति ॥

(2) 'पञ्चम्यर्थे पष्ठी' in 'दुहस्तुनमाम्' ।

(3) "दुहेरनेन यक् प्रतिषिद्धयते चिण् दुहेरनेति पूर्वमेव विभाषितः ।

Kāś'ikā. "दुहेरनेन यक् एव निषेधः । चिण् तु विकल्पेनेष्यते " Sid-
dhānta Kaumudī. But this contravenes the rule 'विप्रतिषेधे परं
कार्यम्'.

The sūtra borrowed by Panini from another system probably from Bhāṣadēvīya. If Panini himself had written this rule he would have written:—

न दुहो यक् ।

स्तुनमश्चिण् च ॥

कुपिरजोः प्राचां इयन् परस्मैपदं च १०.

कुपिरजोः—पञ्चम्यर्थे षष्ठी । ∴ Borrowed by Panini from another system. This conclusion supported by 'प्राचाम्'.

Candra has 'कुपिरज आत्मे'.

कृत्याः । १५. Siddhānta Kumudā.

कृत्याः प्राङ्ण्वुलः । १५ Kāś'ikā. ‡

अचो यत् १७.

पोरदुपधात् । १८. [यत्]

शक्तिसहोश्च १९ [यत्]

गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे ॥ १००. [यत्]

1. Note that 'यत्' inducted into S. १९ with a 'च' proceeds to S. १०० Contravenes 'चानुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र'. ∴ Either S. १९ or S. १०० an addition.

2. 'शक्तिसहोः'—पञ्चम्यर्थे षष्ठी. ∴ Incorporated by Panini from another system.

Therefore we may conclude that the Basic Book of Sūtras had only:—

अचो यत् ।

पोरदुपधात् ।

गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे ।

and that Panini added "शक्तिसहोश्च" from another system. He did not add it after S. गदमद०, because 'अनुपसर्गे' would have been 'अनुवृत्त' into it.

गदमदचरवमश्चानुपसर्गे । 100.

[अवयवपण्यवर्या गह्यपणितन्यानिरोधेषु । 101.

वह्यं करणम् । 102.

अर्यः स्वामिर्ह्ययोः । 103.

उपसर्या काल्या प्रजने । 104.

अजर्य संगतम् । 105

वदः सुपि क्यप् च । 106.

Kasika अनुपसर्ग इति वर्तते ।

Sutras 101-105 are Nipātana sūtras. The intimate connection between S. 100 and S. 106 is clear from the Kās'ikā. SS 101-5 seem to be insertions by Panini.

वदः सुपि क्यप् च । 106.

Kasika:..... क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च

भ्रुवो भावे । 107.

Kasika: भक्तेः..... क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति । यत्तु नास्त्यवर्तते ।

Nyāsa: - यत्तु नास्त्यवर्तते इति । पूर्वसूत्रे चास्त्यकृष्टत्वात् ॥

एतिस्तुशास्त्रदृष्टुपः क्यप् । 109

ऋदुपधाच्चाकृपिचृतेः । 110.

The 'च' in S. 110 shows that the क्यप् adh kāra ends with S. 110. SS. 111 to 123 seem to be additions. Of these S. 120, 'विभाषाकृष्टयोः,' has a पञ्चम्यर्थे षष्ठी. The sutra is borrowed by Panini from another system. It should be noted that the Yoganv bhāga between SS. 113 (सृजेर्विभाषा) and S. 120 (विभाषा कृष्टयोः) is purposeless.

It should also be noted that SS. 118-120 come abruptly into the middle of Nipātanas. The 'च' in S. 'सुग्यं च पत्रे' seems to indicate that the क्यप् Nipātanas are finished there. This is borne out by the fact that the next Nipātana is of प्यत् (see Kās'ikā on S. 122, अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम्).

ऋदुलोप्यत् । 124

औरावश्यमे । 125 [प्यत्]

आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमथ । 126. [प्यत्,

The 'च' in 3. 126 shows that the Astā of प्यत् is finished with 3. 126. In S. 124 ऋहलोप्यत्, there is "पञ्चम्यर्थे पष्ठी"* (Kas' ki) : S. 124, borrowed from another system. SS. 125 and 126 seem to be likewise borrowed because SS. 124-126 are one group of sutras all about ऋहलोप्यत्.

आनाय्योऽनित्ये । 127.

The Nīṭāna sutras begin from

चित्याग्निचित्ये च । 132.

The 'च' shows that the Nīṭāna

अनुपगोहिस्यविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजिध्वेति

The sutra contains 'साति', a sa-

post-D. P. The sutra is framed by a root. ∴ The sutra is Basic Book of Sutas.

ददतिदधात्योर्विभाषा 139.

पञ्चम्यर्थे पष्ठी. ∴ The sutra borrowed from another system by Panini and added.

उवलितिकसन्तैभ्यो णः 140.

इयाव्यधासुसंस्वतीगवसावहलिहस्तिपथसथ । 141.

The 'च' marks the end of the 'णविधि'. ∴ The next sutra is an addition. This is supported by the fact that in

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे । 142 [णः]

we have 'पञ्चम्यर्थे पष्ठी', which shows that the sutra is borrowed by Panini from another system.

आशिषि च 150

इति तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः

॥ इति सर्वं शिवम् ॥

* पञ्चम्यर्थे पष्ठीति ... प्रत्ययविधौ हि परश्चेति (III. 1. 2.) सम्बन्धात् पञ्चम्या भाष्यम् ॥ Nyāsa.



